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The Unity of Working Class Youth Will Triumph

By Raymond Guyot

IN several countries, the working-class youth has already given magnificent examples of unity in the struggle against the forces of war and barbarism unleashed by fascism. The unification of the Communist and Socialist youth of Spain will for ever remain one of the most brilliant of these examples. Under the leadership of Comrade *Santiago Carrillo*, the glorious Federation of *Socialist Youth of Spain* arouses the admiration of the world.

With an enthusiasm born of the first results of its unity, the working-class youth of all countries is, to-day, animated by a powerful will for united action against fascism, terror, misery, obscurantism, war. Working-class youth is becoming more and more conscious that fascism is not a sign of strength of the old capitalist world, but a sign of weakness. The conviction that it is possible to defeat fascism is penetrating deep into the hearts of millions of young workers.

The *Young Communist International*, fighting under the flag of *Lenin* and *Stalin*, has resolutely placed itself at the head of this great movement for united action of working-class youth. Repulsing and denouncing the abominable theories of the capitulators, the cowards, the Trotskyists, agents of Hitler—"better slavery than death"—we appeal to the courage and fighting spirit of youth, to its love of liberty and progress, to its ardour and heroism; and we will show youth the path of struggle for life. Do not let ourselves be put back by any difficulty and, denouncing the enemies of unity, we will concentrate all our powers in order to realise the directive given by Comrade *Dimitroff* at the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International "to liquidate the divisions among the working youth."

This is, in fact, the essential condition that must be fulfilled if the younger generation is to be saved from fascist demagoguery which would like to imbue into youth the soul of slaves and mercenaries. This is the only way in which youth can be brought to the side of the working class and the people in the hard struggle against war and fascism, for liberty and Socialism.

The Young Communist International and every one of its national sections have done everything possible to bring about a united front

of action with the International Socialist Youth and all its national sections. We cannot say that we have found great enthusiasm for this among the leaders of the International Socialist Youth; neither shall we seek to hide the fact that several of these leaders have shown themselves to be hostile, desperate enemies of unity.

But in many instances, our will for unity, together with the desire for unity of the young Socialist workers, has broken down all obstacles and has made the splitting activities of certain people more difficult.

It is in this way that, in four countries—Spain, Belgium, Latvia, Mexico—the Communist and Socialist youth have realised their aim of a unified organisation of anti-fascist struggle and having as one of the essential points of their programme, the building of international unity among youth. In a recent letter to the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, the unified Youth organisation of Latvia expressed itself in the following terms:

"The Union of Latvian Working Youth will use all its efforts to promote unity. We are convinced that our example can, and will serve the youth of other countries; that this example can, and will encourage the partisans of unity in other countries to struggle with increased ardour for the unification of the Socialist and Communist youth forces and for the building of international unity. Long live the working youth of Latvia! Long live the Young Communist International! Long live the unity of working youth the world over!"

In other countries, such as *Chile*, the Socialist and Communist youth have created an anti-fascist association. In a number of countries such as *England* and *Switzerland*, the Communist and Socialist youth are united through long, solid and effective practical activity. In *France*, in spite of the violence of the enemies of united action, this is developing afresh. The Socialist and Communist students have also given a fine example of united action in the creation of an *international Students' Alliance for Socialism* to co-ordinate and unite the work of Socialist and Communist students in all countries.

The close collaboration of the Communist and Socialist Youth Internationals in the *world youth peace movement* and in the *International Youth Commission for Aid to Spain*, has also done much to facilitate joint action of the Socialist and Communist youth.

At a time when Hitler-fascism and its allies, Mussolini and the Mikado, are developing their oppression of China and are crushing with terror the movements of the peoples in Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania who, nevertheless, are carrying on an heroic struggle for their liberties and independence; when fascism is preparing to invade the Baltic states and Poland and to provoke a new world war directed in the first place against France and England; in such a situation it is our duty to develop and strengthen the movement for international united youth action which is already beginning to take shape.

It is our duty to bring all the forces of working youth to the side of the working class, which is fighting for the creation of a Peace Front with the Soviet Union, in spite of the capitulation and treachery of the rulers of England and France.

It is precisely at such a time as this that the reactionary leaders of the Second International choose to launch an offensive of extraordinary violence against international youth unity. With the support or tacit connivance of certain leaders of the International Socialist Youth, such people as Spaak and Besteiro are intent upon the destruction of the unity of Socialist and Communist youth.

In *England*, because of their fight against Chamberlain and their policy of unity with the Young Communist League, the *Labour League of Youth* has been suspended by the Labour Party. In *Belgium*, a split has been provoked in the Young Socialist Guard, and the Federation of the Young Socialist Guard of Brussels, loyal to the cause of unity and the revolutionary struggle, has been excluded from the Belgian Labour Party. Finally, furiously continuing their counter-revolutionary work, the chiefs of the Second International are demanding the exclusion from the International Socialist Youth of that Federation which has covered itself with glory, and which has

left tens of thousands of its members on the battlefields of liberty—of the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain (J.S.U.) and of Santiago Carrillo. Those who dare to attack the J.S.U. may cover their heads in shame for ever! The working youth of the world can have nothing but loathing for the authors of this sorry spectacle.

Animated by the "spirit of Munich" of compromise with and submission to Hitler; moved by a ferocious hatred of Communism and the Soviet Union, the reactionary leaders of the Second International have declared war on all that is young, revolutionary and filled with the spirit of struggle. They wish to destroy the spirit of unity and revolutionary feeling which exists in the heart of the Socialist Youth Federations.

But we can already say to the enemies of unity that their evil work will not succeed. The power of the international unity of youth is greater than they might have supposed. They are finding this out already in England and Belgium; and we predict that their experience in this respect with regard to Spain will be even more cruel.

Young Communists! In all countries, fight valiantly in order to crush fascism and to defend the claims of youth. In this struggle, realise unity with your brothers of the Socialist Youth!

Comrades of the Unified Socialist Youth (J.S.U.) of Spain, brothers of the Young Socialist Guard of Belgium and of the Labour League of Youth of England, raise the banner of unity yet higher!

Young Socialists, Socialist students of all countries, strengthen and develop your unity with your brothers of the Communist youth! We are convinced that the proposals for united action which we have just made to the Socialist Youth International will meet with your full sympathy and approval.

We know that the struggle for Unity is hard. But the unity of the international working-class youth will triumph all the same. With the working class and the people, united youth will be at its post against fascism and reaction, for the defence of liberty and peace, for Socialism.

A Hero of Youth Dies for Liberty And Peace

ARTHUR BECKER MURDERED BY THE GESTAPO IN SPAIN

THE international youth movement has suffered a terrible loss. Arthur Becker, former member of the German Reichstag, was assassinated by the Gestapo in Burgos. Arthur Becker had fought in the ranks of the 11th International Brigade. On April 1, 1938, he fell into the hands of the fascists in Gadesa. First isolated in the prisoners' camp and then removed to the prison in Burgos, he was there handed over to the Gestapo hangmen.

Arthur Becker, the son of a worker, was born in 1905 in Remscheid in Rhineland. When still young he already took part in the big struggles of the Rhineland workers from 1918 to 1920. He read and studied enormously. His intelligence, his reflective mind won him the confidence of the young comrades, who elected him as their leader of the youth organisation. Arthur Becker not only enjoyed the sympathy of his own comrades, but had also many friends among the young Catholics of the Rhineland. The latter often invited him to address their meetings. On his return from a long journey in the Soviet Union in 1928, he was invited by them to give them a report on what he had seen in the country of Socialism.

In 1930 the youth of the Rhineland elected him as their member of the Reichstag. He was its youngest member. The German capitalist press did not fail to attack him and gave him the nickname "Benjamin." One could often hear him from the tribune of the Reichstag and in the commission meetings voicing the demands of the young workers and peasants.

The fascist hangmen of the Gestapo have murdered Arthur Becker, but already in Germany the seed he has sown is growing. Tens of thousands of young German anti-fascists are fighting tenaciously together with the adult workers against Hitler.

The History of the Bolshevik Party and the Younger Generation

By Victor Joannès

THE history of the Bolshevik Party is the history of the only party of the working-class which has led the people to power, and which has led to the building of Socialism. At this moment, the Party is directing the gradual transformation from Socialism to Communism in a country which is 40 times as large as France, with 170 million inhabitants divided into 45 nationalities and 11 Federal Republics.

The history of the Bolshevik Party is, therefore, the history of the glorious struggle for that great ideal which we are striving to realise.

It is clear to everybody that the book does not give us a ready-made formula for the realisation of this ideal in France. We must take into account the different historical, geographical and political conditions in which we are living.

We are that France which made the Revolution of 1789. In tsarist Russia, the old remains of feudalism were mixed with developing capitalism. We must not, therefore, take the contents of the history of the Bolshevik Party and use it like a kitchen recipe, but adapt it to our own conditions.

Yet the book brings to light the fundamental conditions which hold true in all countries, for the overthrow of the capitalist world and the building of Socialism.

The history of the Bolshevik Party is the history of the Party which is richest in experience in all spheres of work.

The history of the Bolshevik Communist Party can be divided into three main periods.

The *first period* is that which sees the first steps of the Russian workers' movement and, parallel with this, the spread of Marxism in Russia. With the beginning of Lenin's activities in 1887—he was then 17 years old—and under his influence, the penetration of the Russian workers' movement with Marxist thought was achieved.

The cinema has immortalised this stage of the history of the Bolshevik Party in that magnificent film of revolt—*"Battleship Potemkin."* The revolt of the battleship Potemkin is the story of the revolutionary movement among the sailors of the "Potemkin" who, hearing of the revolutionary events which had taken place in Odessa, wished to give battle for the Revolution. The revolt broke out when a sailor, who had found worms in his soup, went with his comrades to the officers commanding the ship who used to provide the sailors with rotten meat and pocket the difference. When their complaints were not listened to the sailors became angry and seized their officers, threw them overboard and ran up the red flag on the battleship "Potemkin."

The tsar tried hard to send other ships to quell the revolt on the Potemkin, but the crews refused to fire on the battleship. Always remember, dear comrades, this example set by the sailors of the battleship "Potemkin."

The *second period* is that which we have called the period of the struggle for power.

Finally, during the *third period*, a whole host of heroes of the people appeared, such as *Chapayev*, who fought in the Volga and Ural regions and whom the cinema has brought so near to us. It is also the time of *Maxim*, whom we have also seen on the screen; first, as a militant of the underground party; then, as a director of the State Bank; and then, once again fighting for the cause of Socialism.

This is the epoch of the *sailors of Kronstadt*, the epoch when the men were made who were to achieve the Socialist society.

Before the victorious Revolution of October, 1917, the Bolshevik Communist Party had known both success and defeat, legal and underground work, the upward surge of the revolutionary movement and its retreat.

This work, the History of the Bolshevik Party, might be called a real encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism. We, young Communists, who have inscribed in our constitution that "our

Federation educates its members in the spirit of Communism, the greatest human ideal," must study this history of the Bolshevik party very carefully. It contains the fundamental laws of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental laws of Communism.

Marx and Engels and, later, *Lenin and Stalin*, have applied scientific methods to the study of human society and the social struggles of their times. They have brought to light the laws of development of society, the laws of political action. We must develop the education of our Communist youth from their work. For the understanding of these laws, the understanding of Marxism-Leninism will be made much easier for us now that we possess this Short History of the Bolshevik Party. This book brings out in sharp relief the contribution made to Marxism by Lenin and Stalin who, analysing the events and struggles which took place after Marx and Engels, deduced new laws from their analyses.

This book is a real source of courage and confidence. Faced by those who, corrupters and corrupted, are preaching the doctrine of slavery to youth, it is an expression of free life and shows the struggle of free men who wished to experience neither slavery nor death.

SOME LESSONS FROM THE BOOK

Here are some of the lessons from the book which have a bearing on the present situation. One problem stands out above all others, the problem of war or peace.

The History of the Bolshevik Party, expounding the Marxist-Leninist conceptions on the problems of war and peace states that:

"It was not to every kind of war that the Bolsheviks were opposed. They were only opposed to wars of conquest, imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of war:

(a) Just wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and
(b) Unjust wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government."

The Bolsheviks were not simple pacifists sighing after peace. They were not against war in general. They knew and know that peace does not come of itself. We must fight to ensure it, and if Hitler and Mussolini think of attacking, we will know—as the Bolsheviks and our Spanish Brothers knew—how to take our place in the front ranks of anti-fascist struggle.

This book, the History of the Bolshevik Party, equips us with the reply to the anti-Soviet campaigns of the French supporters of Hitler. In chapters 10, 11 and 12 of the book, we are given valuable information on the economic strength of the U.S.S.R., on its unity and its patriotism.

The book also shows us how to fight against saboteurs and spies. Our friend *Michaut*, speaking at the Congress of our Federation on the History of the Bolshevik Party said: "There is not an honest Frenchman who could reproach the Bolsheviks, for they have conducted themselves like true Jacobins." I think that we can reaffirm this declaration. There is not, in fact, a single Frenchman who could honestly reproach those who have the great task of leading the country of Socialism, for having safeguarded the country against traitorous Bukharinites, Trotskyites, Zinovievites and others.

Yes, they were right. And we can add that we would very

much like their example to be followed by those who pretend to rule France in the name of the Jacobins.

The second great lesson which the History of the Bolshevik Party has for the present day is that of the necessity of defending the immediate demands of the masses.

The book teaches us, in fact, that it is by effectively defending the demands of the people that it is possible to bind them to us, to win them in the end for Communism.

Lenin himself did not hesitate to take an interest in these demands, in the smallest strikes. In the first chapter, you will learn that in 1895, Lenin issued an appeal to the workers of the Thornton mills who were on strike. The Bolsheviks also used all their press and notably *Pravda*, for the defence of the immediate interests of the workers and peasants. In the difficult period 1908-1912, the Bolsheviks went into the benefit societies, into all the organisations which the bourgeoisie left open to them, in order to win the workers' demands.

The History of the Party also gives us a lesson in consistent courage and coolness. To those who might be discouraged by the present domestic and international difficulties, the history of the Bolshevik Party brings a lesson of courage in difficult times. The History of the Party teaches us that even setbacks can be used to educate the people, and bring lessons which help to prepare for future success.

We learn from the History of the Party never to let ourselves become dizzy with success or presumptuous; that we must at all costs retain a healthy, self-critical attitude in our work.

On page 308, you will find mention of a letter which comrade Stalin entitled "Dizzy with Success," which was addressed to the comrades who thought that collectivisation would be achieved simply by decreeing it. Read this letter carefully, and this passage of the History of the Bolshevik Party, and you will see how vigilant we must be; how quickly unsatisfactory work must be noticed; and how we must be self-critical and not presumptuous or vain. The book teaches us modesty. It urges us to work to discover and correct our faults, in order to consolidate our successes.

The history of the Bolshevik party shows us the role and character of *Trotskyism*. On behalf of the enemy, Trotskyism carries out the work of division and provocation among the masses. It is important to appraise their role exactly, and to have precise arguments with which to unmask them. In the book you will find these arguments and a description of the role of the

Trotskyists. The book explains why and how the Trotskyists have become a detachment of fascism. It brings the facts on the activity of the Trotskyists, and shows how necessary it is to smash mercilessly all the efforts of these criminal agents of the enemy. The book shows the splitting role played by Trotsky in playing off the younger members of the Party against the old Bolsheviks.

Yet another lesson. The book shows what must be the indispensable qualities of the Party. Everybody asks himself the question: Why did the Bolshevik party triumph? The Bolshevik party triumphed because it was a Party of a new type, different from the social-democratic parties of the Second International which are rent by differences and permeated by bourgeois influences. The Bolshevik Party formed a homogeneous, disciplined bloc, organised on the basis of democratic centralism, and has preserved its ranks from bourgeois influence.

The Bolshevik Party won because it was closely bound to the masses. Being bound to the masses—that is the secret of the invincibility of the Bolsheviks. Stalin has shown us this in a very authoritative way by recalling the legend of Antaeus.

The book allows us to bring home the justice of our policy to all honest young French people of good faith who are influenced by the anti-Soviet lies of the fascists and who are a prey to confusion and doubt.

FOR A MASS CIRCULATION

The circulation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B) in the Soviet Union was tremendous. In a speech to militants of the Party, Georges Cogniot was able to give the figure of six millions for the first edition in Russian, without counting the translations for the other nationalities, and its publication in the *Bolshevik*, the theoretical organ of the Party, and in *Pravda*, the Party's daily newspaper.

Our French party has set itself the task of achieving a circulation of 300,000 copies. We, the Communist youth, want a place of honour in this work. Our first aim is to sell 5,000 copies in our own ranks, among the youth. We must go everywhere from door to door, into the markets—to sell the History. Each book sold is a man won for Communism.

Come, young Communists, study the History, understand it, give Youth this compass which will enable it to find its place once again in the new events. Let us learn to become Communists. Let us work to win over the tens of thousands of honest young French people who love peace and liberty—to the cause of Communism.

The Young Spanish Emigres Carry on the Struggle Against Fascism

By Manuel Azcarate

AT the present time, there are more than half-a-million Spanish Republican refugees in France. Of these, some are soldiers with thirty-two months of front-line service with the Army in the fight against the Italo-German invasion; many are women and children who have suffered bombardments and hunger.

Among these people, there are at least 300,000 young soldiers, labourers, skilled workers of the war industry, peasants and students.

Forced to leave their country as a result of the policy of non-intervention and the Casado betrayal which permitted the fascists to occupy the whole of Republican territory, they are to-day emigres. But they are not permanently refugees, for the Spanish people is continuing the fight and will not allow the invaders to establish themselves in Spain.

These young people are living under terrible conditions. For four months, they have been practically imprisoned in the refugee and concentration camps where they receive insufficient food and are forced to sleep on the ground wearing the same clothes which they were wearing when they first entered France—clothes torn in battle. In spite of all this, they still retain their will to fight against fascism and their faith in the liberation of Spain.

In all the accounts which one hears of their feelings, there are always the same phrases; and, to-day, it is the paper of the Spanish youth emigres in France, *Juventud de España*, which best translates this spirit.

It is not only manifest in the articles written in the *Juventud de España*, but, above all, in the hundreds of letters which are sent every day and in which the young Spanish emigres, on little scraps of paper, express their ideas and wishes for the future.

THE YOUNG SPANIARDS WRITE TO THEIR PAPER

Reading these letters, one is able to judge how far Spanish youth has assimilated the rich experiences culled in the struggle against fascism and, above all, how the youth has preserved a deep love for unity—the only sure and effective weapon with which to resist and conquer the aggressions of Hitler and Mussolini.

For this reason, in the vast majority of cases, the letters give explicit support to the great Federation of United Socialist Youth (J.S.U.) and its leader, Santiago Carrillo. They realise that it was the J.S.U. that was responsible for realising this unity of youth throughout the war and for educating the

younger generation in the spirit of heroism and anti-fascist struggle.

When writing of their terrible plight at the moment, they never let themselves be overcome by despair. After saying that they have neither shirt nor shoes, that they are hungry and cannot wash themselves, the first things they ask for are books—chiefly French grammars and dictionaries—writing paper and pencils, in order to be able to study and thus to spend the time raising their cultural level.

But their main preoccupation is not only improving the situation in the camps. They suffer most from inactivity, from not being able to participate once again in the fight against fascism.

They understand that, in order to abolish fascism and liberate their country, as much can be done in France as in any other democratic country. Fascism threatens all the free countries and, in defending the countries which it wishes to attack, they contribute to the liberation of the peoples which it has already succeeded in conquering.

WE WANT TO EARN THE BREAD WE EAT AND TO FIGHT AGAINST THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS

A young man in the Bacares camp wrote to the *Juventud de España*:

"We are fully aware of the work which you are doing on our behalf. We want to encourage you to carry on this work. We do not, and never shall forget all that you are doing for us. Our only wish is to be able to work, to earn the bread we eat and to help in the fight against fascist aggression."

But the young emigres who are in France and who know that the country is threatened by Hitler express in all the letters addressed to their paper, *Juventud de España*, their desire to fight side by side with the youth of France in order to defend the country which has given them hospitality.

FRIENDSHIP WITH FRANCE

"We will carry on at our posts in the struggle and, if it is necessary, we shall march side by side with our French brothers with arms in hand. For we know that, in defending France from the clutches of fascism, we are defending our beloved Spain which is to-day stained with blood by the invading hordes of Germany and Italy."

We, young Spaniards, who have taken part in the struggle against fascism in Spain and who have been forced to take refuge in France, consider this country to be our friend and we are prepared to defend its independence at all times. But we believe that, in order to keep alive the high anti-fascist morale among the tens of thousands of young people who are here, it is necessary to carry on the work which you have undertaken, of helping the young people in the concentration camps, with greater enthusiasm than ever."

I am very pleased to read your paper, and I am sure that it corresponds to the feelings of all young Spaniards in the refugee and concentration camps who are awaiting the moment when they can once again enter the glorious struggle in the ranks of those who wish to liberate the world from that horrible pest which is gnawing at it—Fascism."

After the three-year struggle which they have waged, these young people know the meaning of Unity. One of them writes:

"I have read the paper, *Juventud de España*, and I feel sure that it will be the means of directing our activity in France in support of that great unity which is so necessary to all workers and about which we can draw such lessons from our experience of the struggle. For this reason, I can only congratulate you and wish you success in the continuation of our work for unity which was begun in our heroic Madrid. There, we gave proof to the whole world that interest in winning the battle against the enemy can only be shown by using the weapon of Unity. Allow me to ask you to send, if you can, some books such as a French grammar—in order to learn the language—an arithmetic book, a history and some writing paper."

THE J.S.U. CLUBS CONTINUE THEIR WORK IN THE CAMPS.

These letters also show how the young people have managed to continue, in the camps, the work of educating the youth and of making them more fit to play a decisive role in the struggle against Fascism—work which was carried on in the Republican Army by the J.S.U. clubs. In hundreds of letters, *Juventud de España* receives moving instances of the way in which cultural and sports activities are organised in the camps, with a minimum of equipment and facilities:

"Idleness is overcome thanks to games of chess, draughts and dominoes, the study of French and, as we are in a camp of Catalans, we try to organise general cultural classes chiefly in the Catalan language. We have also organised complete teams for football, basket ball and athletics and, in consequence, we hope to get good results from our cultural and physical education. We are still very short of books, balls, paper, etc."

"Tens of thousands of comrades are in the same plight as ourselves. We are two young Estremaduran peasants who crossed the frontier on February 13. We have absolutely no acquaintances or members of our family in France who might help to make life a little less monotonous for us than it is at present. Do not think that we are in despair because of this. On the contrary, we know how to make the best of a bad job with a joke on our lips, in common with all young Spaniards who have done so, no matter how grave the situation."

The majority of the young refugees in France were in Catalonia, and therefore did not themselves live through the period of the Casado betrayal. They understand perfectly, however, the role played by the traitors who handed Spain over to Fascism, by Casado, Besteiro, Miaja and their agents who tried to break the united movement of Spanish youth.

These young people who know what the J.S.U. stood for all through the war, the help which it brought them at all times and in the most difficult situations, remain faithful to their organisation. Through *Juventud de España*, they have expressed in their tens of thousands their approval of the J.S.U. and its general secretary, Santiago Carrillo. But they are not simply and solely expressions of support for the J.S.U. They are, at the same time, magnificent explanations of the significance of the Casado movement and of the attempts to split the J.S.U.

"We are writing to tell you our plight in the camps and, at the same time, to tell you what we think of the provocative work of the enemies of Youth."

We, young Spaniards, undertake before the youth of the whole world to avenge the blood spilled by the Casado betrayal. We will avenge the assassination of the best sons of the people. We will know how to punish those who have sold our country to the blackest reaction of German and Italian Fascism.

Comrades, we wish to let you know that there are a number of individuals who are trying to besmirch and weaken the glorious Unity of our Youth by insulting our loved and admired leader, Santiago Carrillo, by calumnies against our Executive Committee, and in general against the whole political line of Youth.

We, young people in the Bacares camp, will not allow anybody to destroy the Unity of youth under any pretext."

Having reprinted these letters, it is unnecessary to make long commentaries. In spite of the conditions of life, the young Spanish emigres in France have not lost their fighting spirit, they are still a shock unit of world Youth in the fight for peace and liberty.

We must organise aid in order to help them to stand up to the present situation and permit them to develop their work of cultural and political education. This is not only our duty to those who have fought so heroically for thirty-two months, but is also a practical and effective way of contributing to the defence of the free peoples threatened by Hitler.

NOTICE

All communications and all subscriptions to **WORLD YOUTH REVIEW** should be addressed to the **Workers' Bookshop, 49 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1.**

Youth of France

Our Fight for the Improvement of the Soldiers' Lot

By L. Casteur

THE repeated aggressions of the fascist states against Ethiopia, Austria, China, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Albania have shown the world the bellicosity of Germany, Italy and Japan.

The gangster policy pursued by Germany and Italy aims at encircling France by the Pyrenees frontier, to cut the communications with Northern Africa by occupying the strategic points in the Mediterranean.

These threats, becoming clearer every day, cannot leave the people and the youth of France indifferent, supremely interested as they are in the safeguarding of democracy and, consequently, in the defence of their country and the peace of the world.

The Young Communist League, interpreter of the views of French working class youth, struggles with all its strength for the reinforcement of the country's defences, by demanding a foreign policy of alliances with the democratic powers against the aggressor states.

The Young Communist League fights that France may be strong, that it may have an army capable of defending democratic liberties, if they are menaced.

A strong France presupposes an army with good morale, reflecting its republican ideal.

That is why we believe that the Government and the General Staff ought to show their concern for the private soldier, whose material and moral conditions of life must be one of the foremost considerations of the country.

Unfortunately it is not always so. It is easy to prove, by quoting scores of letters from soldiers, that in many barracks they are ill-fed, bullied, and that much remains to be done to improve their physical and cultural conditions while in the army.

The Young Communist League, following its 10th Congress, announced to the youth of France its programme of action containing appropriate demands for all types of French youth.

In its programme of action, the Young Communist League has formulated very precisely the following demands for soldiers:

(1) respect for the ministerial circular no. 3162 D, known as the Daladier circular (19th June 1936), addressed to commanding officers and requiring them to "place in the forefront of their consideration the physical and mental well-being of their troops";

(2) increase in the food-allowance, providing the soldiers with a sound and abundant diet;

(3) loan to one franc;

(4) complete freedom of mail;

(5) forty-five days of leave plus ten for good behaviour during the period of military service;

(6) free travelling on leave and effective aid for necessitous soldiers during their leave;

(7) increase in the rates of military allowance and simplification of the methods and conditions of getting it;

(8) control of canteen prices and systematic replacement of these by regimental co-operatives;

(9) development of cultural and social amenities, halls, libraries, sports grounds, professional training;

(10) the right to read the working class and democratic press;

(11) abolition of practice according to which a soldier who

has served a prison sentence while with the colours has to serve a corresponding period of extra military service to make up for time lost.

The programme in defence of the soldiers' interests is approved by the majority of them, who are impatiently awaiting its realisation.

Tens of thousands of young men of the 1935 class were recalled to the colours last March, following the measures for security taken by the government.

These young men, who had completed two years active service in April, 1938, were first mobilised in September, 1938, and were then recalled a second time in March, 1939.

At the end of their active service period, many of them had found work, some had married and had contracted debts in setting up homes; and yet others had set up as artisans and small traders. In spite of this, when they were recalled in March, 1939 for a twenty-one day period, those affected rejoined their units with discipline and a sense of responsibility.

The sacrifices which they have made for the country's defence, and their exceptionally difficult position demand that extraordinary measures be taken in their favour.

The Young Communist League has been leading a vigorous campaign in support of their demands ever since they were mobilised.

Last month, the government, giving way to popular feeling, granted free post by decree to all those recalled. But the order-in-council decreeing its application was not signed and the mobilised men only receive four stamps a week.

It was as a result of our vigorous campaign demanding from the government a guarantee of re-employment for the recalled men, that the decree on the resumption of work contracts was passed.

This latter is still incomplete, inasmuch as it makes the re-employment of the men dependent on the good will of the employers. The law makes the stipulation: "Providing such resumption (of work) is possible."

A new decree concerning the rates of soldiers' pay will come into operation as from June 15, 1939.

The payment for soldiers on active service has been raised from 3.50 francs to 7 francs for inhabitants of the Paris and Seine departments, and to 5 francs for those of the other departments.

For reservists and conscripts, it has been raised from 3.50 francs to 12 francs for the Paris and Seine departments, to 8 francs for towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants and to 7 francs for other towns.

The decree grants free return travel facilities to all the mobilised men. Necessitous soldiers and reservists will be granted a second free travel pass. Similarly, it has been decided to grant such facilities to mobilised soldiers who are natives of Corsica and North Africa, and to those natives of France and Corsica who have been recalled to North Africa.

All these concessions are due to the action which is being led by the Young Communist League and its journal *L'Avant Garde* in support of the soldiers and reservists who were called up. They are also due to the speeches made in the Army Commission by the Communist deputies and, in particular, to the numerous steps taken by our comrade Marcel Gliton, vice-president of the Army Commission.

There are still, however, many causes for discontent in the

barracks. Among the many demands which still have to be realised are the following:

1. The extension of the soldiers pay to all reservists who have been called up.
2. Free rail and road travel facilities for all leaves.
3. Complete free postal facilities to all men and their families.
4. Cessation of bullying and other annoyances.
5. Special leaves for peasants during the busy seasons for agriculture.
6. Healthy and plentiful food.
7. The establishment of a system of calling to the colours which will permit the replacement of the reservists by the calling up of new classes of reserves.

8. Real guarantees for the reinstatement in the enterprise. The soldiers are surprised—and quite rightly—that the Daladier government has mobilised them in order to assure the security of the country, while this same government does not pursue a foreign policy of collective security.

We demand to know for what reasons the U.S.S.R., with its Red Army and its magnificent air force, is being kept out of the collective effort which would bar the way to the aggressor. What is behind this concealment? That is the question which every French soldier is asking now! writes one of the soldiers at the Teting camp.

"While everyone is stressing the necessity of collective efforts to stop the aggressor, why are certain newspapers allowed to conduct a campaign calculated to discredit the U.S.S.R. and to prevent her effective co-operation in constructing a bulwark for peace," write soldiers of the 9th B.C.A. at Antibes.

French soldiers, both regulars and reserves, want immediate co-operation between Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. They know that this is the only way of safeguarding the security of the country, of making the aggressors retreat everywhere.

It is more important than ever to satisfy the demands of the mobilised men, in view of the foreign-inspired propaganda calculated to undermine and sap the morale of the soldiers and to divide the Army with the aim of playing the game of the enemies of France.

In a recent speech to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, our comrade Marcel Gitton, vice president of the Army Commission, revealed the machinations of the enemies within the Army.

This anti-French propaganda in the barracks must be forbidden. The government must take vigorous measures against the fascists who are carrying on this work of sabotage in the Army.

The republican spirit must permeate the barracks. It must be made impossible for Hitler's admirers to find a place in the French Army or in any of the grades of the military hierarchy.

Let not M. Daladier say that he has not the money to satisfy these demands, for the soldiers know that the government has recognised the right of any person who acts as intermediary between it and the small industrialists to get a commission of 2 per cent on all Army orders. This means that a financier giving contracts for 1,000 million francs will get a commission of 20 million francs.

The soldiers know that, in the name of National Defence, the industries engaged on war production are entitled by law to a profit of 10 per cent. This leads to fabulous profit-making as, for example, in the smelting and steelworks of the North and Lorraine, where the profits increased from 308,000 francs in 1936 to 30 million francs in 1938.

By taxing these scandalous profits, by taxing these profiteers from National Defence who intend to fleece the French people as in the last war, M. Daladier will easily be able to find the money necessary to satisfy the legitimate demands of the French soldiers.

Third Congress of League of Young Girls of France

By Danielle Casanova

THE third congress of the League of Young Girls of France was held on the May 20, 21 and 22. One thousand one hundred and five delegates representing 55 French districts, were present, among them 98 school-girls, 208 without occupation, 270 workers, 178 dress-makers, and 354 employees aged between 16 and 20. It must be emphasised that only the enormous propaganda effort, made by all the League's members, made it possible to hold such a congress. With money collected from the workers of our country by the sale of badges, by the organisation of dances and fetes, the delegates were able to pay their fares to Paris, and by paying a representation fee to the congress, they permitted the national committee to make excellent arrangements for their stay and for the recreations enjoyed during these three days of good fellowship.

The congress opened on Saturday evening at the Buffalo Stadium, Paris, before an audience of more than 30,000 persons. Young girls had come by the thousands, in groups or with their relatives, to hear the General Secretary of the French Communist Party, Comrade Maurice Thorez, and to show him not only their deep admiration, but also their gratitude for all the Communist Party's campaigns for the improvement in the workers' conditions, for liberty, for peace, for all its struggles for a radiant future, in Socialism, after the example of the great Soviet Union.

The endless applause which hailed the reading of a telegram from Soviet girls, and the name of Stalin, the great defender of peace, showed their clear understanding of the grave problems of the present time, the fascist peril and the threats of war.

The pilgrimage to the Père-Lachaise cemetery, where the heroes of the Paris Commune were shot, was, for the thousands of girls who took part, a great and moving lesson in the history of our people. In this year of the 150th anniversary of the great French Revolution, our homage goes out, at the same time as to Louise Michel and her fellow-militants, to those women whose bravery impelled the correspondent of an English newspaper to write:

"If the French nation were composed entirely of women, it would be a formidable nation."

to those who, in 1789 and 1793 were among those who took the Bastille and won the battle of Valmy, and also to Jeanne Hachette, to Joan of Arc, all girls and women of France, of whom the historian Michelet has said "Our women bear sons brave as themselves." The Young Girls of France will know how to remain faithful to such a noble example. They are ready for the greatest sacrifices to save their country from fascist barbarity, to defend the integrity of our national territory. Feelings as exalted as these deserve something better than a certain decision taken at the Socialist Congress of Nantes, forbidding girl members of the Socialist Party to belong to our organisation.

The League of Young Girls of France is a firm and militant organisation. It has known how to adapt its programme of action to the needs and aspirations of young workers. In simple, human language, we said to them: "We understand your sufferings, because we share them; we understand your dreams, they are ours."

Girls' dreams translate their confidence in the future, and these dreams are naturally obstinate, because they express their desire to live.

Lenin wrote, on the subject of dreams:

"If man were deprived of the faculty of dreaming, if he could not sometimes run ahead and in his imagination contemplate the completion of work which is scarcely beginning to form beneath his hands, how could he undertake and successfully achieve their distant ends, the enervating fatigue of his labours? Let us dream, but on condition that we believe seriously in our dream, that we examine real life attentively, that we confront our observation with our dream, that we achieve our ideal scrupulously. We have to transform into reality the grand dreams of youth."

That is what the Young Girls of France have understood, in teaching their sisters the need for struggle.

United Front and Youth

Conference of European Young Communist Leagues

ON June 12 and 13 there met in *Paris*, under the chairmanship of *Maurice Thorez*, a conference of the secretaries of the Young Communist Leagues of Europe.

The comrades of the following countries were represented: France, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Italy, Austria and Germany. The Young Communist League of the United States was also represented. The Dutch Federation of Youth—an organisation sympathetic to the Y.C.I.—sent two delegates. The Belgian Communist Party sent the member of its Central Committee who is in charge of work among the youth.

The Unified Socialist Youth of Spain, which has always maintained fraternal relations with the Y.C.I., sent to the conference four delegates among them being Comrade *Santiago Carillo*, the general secretary, whom the conference greeted with an ovation.

The first session was opened by Comrade *Maurice Thorez* who, after having welcomed the delegates, described the existing situation and stressed the fact that fascism is not a sign of the strength but of the weakness of capitalism. He called upon all the forces of the Y.C.I. to work for unity of action and to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist education of youth.

Comrade *G. Cogniot* then delivered an address on the book, the *History of the C.P.S.U.* and emphasised the necessity of raising the ideological level of the adherents to the Young Communist International. This address, brilliant in its scope and simplicity, was followed with great attention by the delegates

who expressed in their warm applause their satisfaction and gratitude.

The conference then listened to a report by Comrade *Raymond Guyot*, general secretary of the Young Communist International, on the international united front of the youth, with the object of realising:

"Joint action to save peace, to preserve the liberties and rights of the youth, to come to the aid of all refugees, victims of reaction and fascism, to stop the terror in Spain, Czechoslovakia and Austria."

Following on this fine assembly, throughout which a deep sense of fraternity in the struggle and the highest internationalist spirit prevailed, the Young Communist Leagues will develop, on the basis of the study of the *History of the C.P.S.U.*, their work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the youth, and their activities on behalf of the international united front of the youth, thus enthusiastically contributing their share towards the realisation of world unity of the working class.

The conference unanimously approved the following two documents:

1. A letter to all Young Communists concerning the study and distribution of the *History of the C.P.S.U.*
2. A letter to the Young Socialist International proposing joint action and suggesting a meeting, of representatives of the two internationals.

The conference dispersed after the delegates had affirmed their confidence in a decisive victory over fascism under the leadership of Stalin and the Communist International.

Letter Addressed to the Young Socialist International

Paris, June 13, 1939

DEAR COMRADES.—The serious situation which threatens the peoples of the whole world is becoming aggravated. Hitler, the hangman of the German Youth, after having destroyed the liberty and freedom of Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia and Memel, is preparing for aggression against Danzig and Poland, against Denmark and the Baltic States. The situation is rapidly moving towards a war involving the entire world.

Every person and all free peoples are in danger. This danger is becoming more acute as a result of the policy pursued up to now by the British and French Governments, a policy of compromise with fascism and resistance to the formation of the Peace Front with the Soviet Union.

At a time when the guns are already thundering, when the aeroplanes are dropping explosive and gas bombs upon the terrified population, when the prisons and concentration camps in Spain, Czechoslovakia and Austria resound with the cries of those condemned to death and the groans of the prisoners, when the peoples of these countries, in spite of the fascist terror, continue their struggle against fascist domination—at such a time it is impossible for the young workers of the world, for the young revolutionaries of all countries, for the young Socialists, not to act jointly with their young Communist brothers against Hitlerism and fascism.

We, leaders of the Young Communist International, we, leaders of the Young Communist Leagues of European countries, convinced that fascism can be defeated, call upon you leading comrades of the Young Socialist International and propose to you unity of action in order to safeguard peace, to defend the liberties and rights of the Youth, to come to the aid of the refugees, the victims of reaction and fascism, to stop the terror in Spain, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

In order to arrive at a decision regarding the activity to be conducted jointly, we propose to arrange as quickly as possible a meeting between a delegation of the Young Socialist International and a delegation of the Young Communist International.

We believe that in view of the gravity of the international situation our proposal will be favourably received by you. Divided we are weak, but acting in common our two Internationals of the Youth would constitute a formidable force.

The young workers, roused to enthusiasm and inspired by our joint action, would close their ranks round the working class of the world, among whom there is growing recognition of the necessity of calling an International Conference of the working class.

Whilst leaving to our national sections a free hand in deciding on the character and the forms of joint action in each country, we propose that the Young Socialist International and the Young Communist International issue a joint appeal against war, for the formation of a Peace Front with the Soviet Union, and for the support of the peoples of Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Austria; that our two Internationals conduct a campaign on these questions in the capitals of the chief countries of Europe; that meetings be organised, to be addressed by speakers from the two Internationals. We shall, of course, carefully consider any other proposal regarding joint actions which you may suggest to us.

In these dramatic times one thought is uppermost in our mind: victory over fascism. It is in order to achieve this victory that we raise the slogan: Long live unity of action between the Young Socialist International and the Young Communist International!

Our delegation is at your disposal from now on.

With fraternal Communist greetings,

Raymond Guyot (France), General Secretary of the Y.C.I.; *Joannes*, *Danielle Casanova* (France); *Massie*, *Gollan* (Great Britain); *Bosson* (Belgium); *Mac Weiss* (United States); *Zogg* (Switzerland); *Philippe Forsberg* (Sweden); *Gausman* (Norway); *Larsen* (Denmark); *Laumes Fels* (Holland); *Erich Koll* (Germany); *Ferri*, *Guiski* (Italy); *Stefan* (Austria); *Wolf* (Czechoslovakia).

Santiago Carillo : Letter to His Father

"FROM NOW ON YOU STAND ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BARRICADE!"

The Secretary of the Federation of the United Socialist Youth of Spain, Santiago Carillo, has addressed to his father Venceslao Carillo, who took part in the Casado putsch which resulted in the victory of fascism in the country and is now residing in London, a letter in which he informs him that he does not want to have any relations with him. We quote the following passages from this letter:

In order to carry out your surrender you have deceived the people by promising it peace, you promised it that there would be no reprisals, that national independence and the achievements of the people would be safeguarded.

But instead, what have you given to the people?

The war in the trenches is at an end, but in its place a wave of persecutions has set in causing many more losses in the ranks of the working class and of the anti-fascists than the continuation of resistance would have cost. There is not a single anti-fascist family in which a son, father or brother is not either dead or imprisoned; all these people would be alive and free to-day, if you had not carried out this shameful betrayal.

The social achievements of the workers have been abolished by the draconic measures of the fascist authorities; the land given by the People's Front to the peasants has been restored to the big landowners.

Italians, Germans and Moors are to-day the masters of our country, which the fascist Powers wish to colonise.

Your whole gang clearly realised that, in order to deliver such heroic people as the Spanish into the hands of Franco it was necessary before all to disarm and discredit the Communists. And all of you, Casado, Besteiro, Miaja, Mera and yourself, you began to throw mud at our Party and our beloved leaders through the press of the cowardly capitulators and fascists. You insulted Pasionaria, the woman in whom all Spaniards see the symbol of their struggle for freedom. You searched for her like wolves in order to arrest her and deliver her over to Franco. You likewise slandered Pepe Diaz, the beloved leader of the Communists and of the Spanish workers, of whom he was the leader during the difficult struggles of the last few years, whose leader he remains now when they are under alien rule and whom he will lead to victory. You are persecuting Jesus Hernandez, Modesto, Lister, all of whom you want to shoot.

In order to save Franco the trouble of searching for them, you put such brave revolutionaries as Giron, Cazorla and Meson into prison; you murdered Barcelo, Conesa, and dozens of tried and tested revolutionaries and militants.

Taught by this painful experience, the Spanish people have realised that behind the slogan: "fight against Communism" there is concealed preparation for the savage rule of fascism. And the Socialist workers who once believed in the honesty of the so-called Left leaders like Largo Caballero, your chief adviser and leader, realise to-day that this Trotskyist spirit of Largo Caballero, Araquistain, Baraibar, Zancajo and company, these agents of fascism, leads precisely to the path of the pro-fascist Besteiro.

All of you, the one like the others, the Caballero-Trotskyists the friends of Besteiro, the followers of the F.A.I. and the other accomplices, all of you are the enemies of the working class and of the People's Front. During the 32 months of struggle you have tried with all the means at your disposal to provoke splits within the U.G.T. and the United Socialist Youth in order to break the unity of the people; and even abroad you continue your disgraceful work.

But you will not succeed. In the light of our experience, the Socialist workers, whom you betrayed, understand more clearly than ever before the need for unity with the Communist Party; all the youth, all the workers understand the necessity for maintaining the unity of the U.G.T. (trade union movement) and the United Socialist Youth at all costs.

And the masses of the people, who have seen that it was necessary for you to break the Popular Front in order to realise your treason, understand better than ever that the Popular Front,

free of the weight of the traitors who sabotaged it, is the arm which will put an end to the rule of fascism in Spain and lead us to victory.

Popular unity, forged against the traitors and for the struggle against the invaders and Franco, is absolutely necessary, and the Communist Party will struggle for it at the head of the people as always.

So far as I am concerned, I am a faithful militant of the Communist Party of Spain and of the glorious Communist International. I should like to remind you that every day I am prouder of my Party, which has understood how to struggle against the invaders, has been an example of heroism and self-sacrifice, and which under the difficult conditions of illegality has not lowered its flag but on the contrary continues to wage its battle against fascism with strength and courage.

I also admire more and more the Soviet Union and Stalin, hated and slandered by you, precisely because they aided Spain constantly throughout the struggle. The hatred which you and your Caballero-Trotskyist band show towards the Communist Party of Spain, the Soviet Union and our great Stalin is one more proof of the formidable role they played in the struggle of the Spanish people for its freedom.

When you asked to be put in touch with me you forgot that I am a Communist and you a man who has betrayed his class, sold his people. There can exist no relationships between a Communist and a traitor. You are on the other side of the barricades.

By your treason the Spanish Republic has been conquered. But the struggle is not ended. Through the efforts of the people Franco will fall: the workers and the peasants, united with all democrats, headed by the Communist Party, will restore the people's Republic anew, but they will never, neither under the domination of the fascists nor after their victory, forget your ignoble treason.

The Brussels Federation Continues the Traditions of the Young Socialist Guard

The Brussels Federation of the Young Socialist Guards, which met in extraordinary congress in Brussels on June 8—after the congress of Mouscron which the partisans of Spaak converted into a congress of division—has sent us the following appeal, addressed to the youth of Flanders and the Walloon country.

UNDER the influence of Spaak, who was instructed by the executive of the Belgian Labour Party to "examine" the question of the youth, the congress of the Young Socialist Guard at Mouscron has entered upon the path of the division of the anti-fascist forces of the youth, the path leading to the destruction of the movement of the Y.S.G.

The majority of the national committee of the Y.S.G. has enforced measures of expulsion against 10 leaders of the Brussels Federation of the Y.S.G.

These splitting measures do not only affect the 10 militants; they affect the entire Brussels Federation; they affect all the organisations of the Y.S.G.; they affect all those who wish to remain loyal to the unitary decisions of the congress of the movement, all those who, like the Brussels Federation, wish to continue the struggle for Socialism.

DOWN WITH THE DISRUPTERS!

The Y.S.G. has gained the sympathy of the workers of the country, of the 600,000 affiliated members of our Belgian Labour Party, by carrying on an uncompromising fight for the principles of Socialism and by denouncing the policy of collaboration with the worst enemies of the working class and of the youth; and by placing in the pillory those who have betrayed the cause of Republican Spain, those who have committed the base treachery of recognising the infamous murderers of Burgos.

To-day the national-socialists following Spaak intend to violate the decisions of the last congress of the Labour Party by recommending the nefarious policy of collaboration with the men of the banks and the trusts. In order to realise their plans, they have to break all determination to struggle for Socialism. They wish to fetter the working-class movement and its youth, in order to bring about yet more capitulation.

They have split the organisations of Socialist students. Now they are condemning the movement of the Y.S.G. They condemn all Socialists who desire to defend the great Soviet Union, all Socialists who wish to defend peace and liberty in fraternal co-operation with all who love this peace and this liberty.

THE MOUSCRON CONGRESS WAS NOT A Y.S.G. CONGRESS

In order to carry out the wishes of Spaak and his followers, the Mouscron congress has brutally violated internal democracy, the statutes and decisions of the movement. The Mouscron congress is not a congress of the Y.S.G. It is a congress of division. The decisions of this congress were extorted from it. To recognise them as sovereign would be to betray the cause of youth and of Socialism.

GODEFROY, IN SPAAK'S SERVICE, IS ORGANISING THE SPLITTING OF THE Y.S.G. MOVEMENT

Violating the elementary democratic rights of the members and splitting the Y.S.G. movement, Godefroy—working in Spaak's service—has acted against the interests of the youth. Godefroy, and all those who follow him along the path of disruption, have ceased to be real representatives of the Y.S.G. movement. The National Federation of the Y.S.G., of which they are still at the head, no longer represents the Young Socialist Guard organisations which were created with so much toil during decades by the revolutionary youth of our working class.

WE SHALL CONTINUE THE TRADITIONS OF THE Y.S.G.

Under these circumstances, the extraordinary congress of the Brussels federation of the Y.S.G. considers it to be its duty to continue the traditions of revolutionary struggle of the Y.S.G. and to undertake the task of continuing the labours of the Y.S.G., a fighting anti-fascist mass organisation of the toiling youth.

We wish to make of the Y.S.G. a genuine anti-fascist organisation, uniting the working-class youth and based upon the principle of the widest internal democracy.

The doors of our Y.S.G. organisations are open to all young people who wish to fight against fascism, on behalf of peace and the rights and demands of the youth. Only fascists and Trotskyist traitors will find no place in our ranks.

Our Y.S.G. organisations will loyally serve the interests of the working class. They will make every effort to maintain the best relations with the organisations of the Belgian Labour Party, the trade unions and the Communist Party.

YOUNG GUARDS, SOCIALIST WORKERS! PROCLAIM WITH US YOUR WILL TO UNITY!

We wish to return to a National Federation of Young Socialist Guards which will no longer deny the very traditions and the united struggle of the movement. We shall do our utmost to get the Y.S.G. organisations of the different districts to meet and unite on the basis of the struggle for unity, and for Socialism.

Young Socialist Guards throughout the country, unite with us! Proclaim with us your desire for unity. Do not allow your organisations to fall into the hands of the capitulators!

Workers, members of the Belgian Labour Party, our struggle is your struggle. The Y.S.G. are fighting for working-class unity—your unity. Raise your voices in your organisations! Prevent this crime they wish to commit by dividing our strength! Vigorously defend your organisations of the Socialist Youth!

YOUTH, CLOSE UP THE RANKS!

Reaction is threatening the social reforms we have gained. It would like to rob us of our holidays with pay and all the scanty rights and liberties that have been won by the struggle of the toilers.

Hitler threatens to invade our country's territory. Our future is at stake during these hours of stress. Let us act together to save ourselves!

Rally to our ranks! Join our organisations for the defence of your rights, of liberty and democracy! Let us unite all our forces to defeat reaction and fascism!

*The Extraordinary Congress of the Brussels Federation of the Young Socialist Guards.
Brussels, June 8, 1939.*

The Capitulators of the Second International Split the Labour Youth Movement

By Michal Wolf

THE working class and the people of many countries found, and still find, in the youth an enthusiastic and courageous helper in their fight against fascism, particularly in those countries where the unity of the youth was established and where the youth had entered on the path of common struggle.

The unity of the working class youth organisations and their common struggle against fascism has always been a thorn in the flesh of the reactionary leaders of the Second International.

They attempted to split the glorious organisation of the working class and toiling youth of Spain, the United Socialist Youth League. The splitters were expelled from the ranks of the *United Socialist Youth League of Spain* which continued its heroic struggle against the fascist dictator *Franco* with the utmost enthusiasm.

The splitters of the working class movement in the Second International believe that they will achieve in Belgium and Great Britain what they could not achieve in Spain.

In contra-distinction to the policy of the Labour Party the British Labour League of Youth has conducted a policy of unity and collaboration with the other organisations of the working class youth and with all youth organisations which stand for a policy of resistance against the fascist aggressors and for the defence of the interests of the British people. Thanks to this policy the *Labour League of Youth* has become one of the best fighting organisations of the British working class youth. It played a great part in the creation in Britain of a powerful anti-fascist democratic youth movement.

The League of Youth participated jointly with the other youth organisations of Britain in the struggle for the establishment of a government of resistance to fascist aggression.

Together with other youth organisations, the League of Youth played its part in developing a broad movement for the economic and political rights of the youth.

To the leadership of the Labour Party this activity of the League of Youth seems to be "very suspicious" and "dangerous." In consequence it decreed an investigation. A Mr. John Huddleston was entrusted with the conduct of this investigation. He elaborated a detailed memorandum concerning the "dangerous work" of the League of Youth without even consulting with its leadership, and submitted this to the leadership of the Labour Party. The leadership of the Labour Party in its turn without any consultation with the leadership of the League of Youth, deposed the leadership on the basis of this document.

The main argument of Mr. Huddleston is that the League of Youth occupied itself with questions "which do not fall within its sphere of activity." From this one can see that in the opinion of the capitulators in the leadership of the Labour Party the following tasks are not appropriate to a working-class youth organisation:

The fight against fascism and reaction and for the establishment of a government of resistance;

The fight for the defence of Britain against the danger of fascist aggression;

The fight for the economic and political rights of the youth of Britain; The fight for the unity of the youth of Britain.

The leadership of the Labour Party declared that only the Party should occupy itself with politics and denies all rights to the youth to develop political activity.

The aim pursued by the Labour Party is to liquidate the *League of Youth* as a militant anti-fascist organisation. They categorically forbid the League of Youth to conduct an anti-fascist policy and demand from it that it should give up the struggle for the unification of the youth of Britain against reaction. They want to transform the *League of Youth* into a reformist organisation, hostile to unity and politically completely passive.

The League of Youth, however, has taken up the struggle for the defence of its anti-fascist policy and its independence. The great majority of the members of the League of Youth want

an organisational struggle against and not of capitulation to fascism.

Immediately after its deposition the leadership of the League of Youth published a declaration in which they showed that the League of Youth is not prepared to stand aside from the anti-fascist struggle. The firm and unanimous struggle of the League of Youth for its independence shows that it will continue to remain in the foremost ranks of the anti-fascist fight of the British youth.

The Labour League of Youth has always declared that it wants to be the best helper of the British Labour Movement. It will be able successfully to continue its role as the best helper of the Labour Movement in the great struggles that lie ahead only if it remains true to the policy which it has conducted up to the present.

The leadership of the *Belgian Labour Party*, headed by the pro-fascist *Spaak*, conducts a similar brutal struggle against the Socialist Young Guards of Belgium.

In December, 1936, the *Socialist Young Guards* united with the *Young Communist League* and had every possibility of becoming a great anti-fascist mass organisation of the Belgian working class and toiling youth. The unification of the Socialist Young Guards with the Young Communist League provided a living example of the possibilities of unity between the Socialist and Communist workers of Belgium. The Socialist Young Guards began to fight not only for the unification of the working youth but also of the working class and came forward boldly for collaboration between the Belgian Labour Party and the Communist Party.

This courageous struggle of the Socialist Young Guards for the unity of the working class was welcomed by broad sections of working-class opinion in Belgium. The reception given by the reactionaries in the leadership of the Belgian Labour Party was quite different. They began a systematic brutal struggle against the *United Socialist Young Guards* and injected into its ranks the spirit of fratricidal struggle between the Communists and the members of the Belgian Labour Party. They placed before the Socialist Young Guards, with the intention of splitting it, the provocative demands; expulsion of the Communists from the leadership, no member of the Communist Party may be a member of the Socialist Young Guards.

The Young Communists and the Communist Party of Belgium exposed the provocative character and harmfulness of the demands. However, in order to preserve the unity of the Socialist Young Guards, the Young Communists, on the proposal of the Communist Party, resigned from all leading positions. The Young Communists who were members of the Socialist Young Guards resigned their membership of the Communist Party in order to be in a position to develop a fruitful, revolutionary, anti-fascist activity corresponding to the interests of the working class. Thanks to this policy of unity, the *Young Communists and the Communist Party at the end of 1936 preserved the unity of the Socialist Young Guards of Belgium*. Nevertheless, the Socialist Young Guards were subjected to constant chicanery from the leadership of the Belgian Labour Party, and even financial support was withdrawn. Its development was thereby not only hindered, but a part of its membership was lost. Despite this chicanery, however, the Socialist Young Guards courageously continued their struggle for the support of the Spanish Republic. Side by side with *Vandervelde*, and the best part of the Belgian Labour Party, they conducted a courageous struggle against the pro-fascist policy of *Spaak*.

After the *Spaak* clique obtained control of the leadership of the Belgian Labour Party, *Spaak* made up his mind to clean up the Socialist Young Guards. The results of the parliamentary elections in which, owing to the *Spaak* policy, the Belgian Labour Party lost votes, seemed to him to provide a good opportunity.

At the same time this clique began also to speak of the necessity of "helping the youth" and "the reorganisation" of the Socialist Young Guards. The nature of this reorganisation and

the help for the Socialist Young Guards may be judged from the following facts:—

The *Brussels* leadership of the Belgian Labour Party decided to withdraw its patronage from the Socialist Young Guards. They excluded the *Socialist Young Guards from the Brussels Section of the Labour Party*. At the same time, they carried through a split in the *United Socialist Student Organisation* of Brussels by engineering the withdrawal of a small group of students from this organisation and establishing an insignificant student organisation with the help of this group. Having brought together this "organisation," they gave it recognition as the official organisation of the Belgian Labour Party, and in this way excluded the majority of the student organisations from the *Belgian Labour Party*.

Disquiet and indignation were aroused in the members of the Socialist Young Guard and the united Socialist Student Organisation against this hostile splitting policy of *Spaak*. *Spaak* then concocted a second manoeuvre, and unfolded the banner of anti-Communism. "We fight against the Communists and not against the Socialist Young Guards." Because of his unpopularity among the youth, *Spaak* himself remains in the background and sends *Godefroid*, the enemy of the Communists, into the battle. Under the mask of anti-Communism, he and *Godefroid* strive to liquidate the Socialist Young Guard as a militant anti-fascist organisation of the Belgian working class and toiling youth.

The meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Young Guards on April 30 conducted its business under tremendous pressure from *Spaak*. He demanded the breaking up of one of the best and most militant sections of the Socialist Young Guard of Belgium—the *Brussels* section. Under this pressure the majority of the National Committee of the Socialist Young Guard decided upon the dissolution of the *Brussels* section and the dismissal of its leadership.

However, *Spaak* will not succeed in killing the anti-fascist, revolutionary spirit inside the Socialist Young Guard.

The examples of Britain and Belgium show that the capitulationists in the Second International are beginning a brutal struggle against the anti-fascist working class youth movement. They have begun to split and to destroy this movement. Wherever the working youth begin to work together and to forge their unity in order the better to fight against their deadly enemy fascism, these capitulationists show themselves and do everything possible once again to inject in the ranks of the working youth a spirit of animosity and factional struggle.

There can be no doubt but that both the Belgian and the British working class youth organisations will show that they know how to preserve their unity and to continue with still greater enthusiasm and activity their work for the unification of the forces of the working youth against fascism.

PRIME MINISTER GREETES YOUTH CONGRESS

Toronto, June 15.

The Prime Minister of Canada, *Mr. Mackenzie King*, has sent a message of greeting to the Fourth Canada Youth Congress, which is to open here on July 1.

"The Congress will permit the discussion of numerous internal and international problems which directly influence young Canadians," he declared. "It is an excellent opportunity."

Work of the Congress will itself constitute an example, continued the Prime Minister, and establish the method of arriving at the best results.

Prime Minister of Ontario (the Honourable *Michael Hepburn*), the Hon. *R. J. Manion* (head of the Conservative Party), *P. M. Draper* (President of the Canadian T.U.C.), *Mrs. Agnes Lugsdin* (President of the National Council of the Young Girls' Christian Union) have also sent messages welcoming the occasion.

"My best wishes," writes the President of Canada's League of Nations Union, Senator *Gairine Wilson*. "The interest of youth and their desire to study public affairs constitutes a precious encouragement and will be of the greatest value to Canada."

From Britain, *Lord Cecil* has sent greetings, and *M. Edouard Herriot*, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, has sent one from France.

From the Two Hemispheres

At the World's Fair

By Joseph Starobin (New York)

THOSE who have sponsored the International Exhibition in New York are not particularly interested in the Ninth National Congress of the Young Communist League. But the Communist Youth, and all the delegates to its Congress which was held from May 11 to May 15, have manifested a certain interest in discovering just what is this International Exhibition, of what it is composed and what it has to say.

Even if Mr. Grover Whalen is not interested in what is the most progressive in American youth life, it is no less certain that the youth is definitely interested in whatever there may be of progressiveness in Mr. Whalen. One of the "slogans" of the World's Fair is also our own, and we may even have some better ones. Because we are not satisfied with praising the construction of "the world of to-morrow"; we are convinced that the world of to-morrow can only be born of the "transformation of the world of to-day."

In all justice be it said that a magnificent job has been accomplished in New York's great international exhibition on the slimy shores of Flushing Bay. What was once a wretched waste, covered with garbage, old iron and junk of all kinds, has been transformed into a vast panorama of 1,200 acres.

The World's Fair is marked by a real magnificence of space, and bears witness to a fertile imagination.

Nearly seven million cubic metres of earth had to be brought here. An entire bay has been dredged to accommodate steamers and yachts. Ten thousand trees were planted; 50,000 benches have been set up which at night are illuminated by invisible lamps. Gas mains, sewerage drains, electric cables, eight converters of 60 tons each—sufficient to illuminate the city of Baltimore—all this has been installed on the World's Fair grounds. Admissions are expected to be 250,000 per day, with 1,000,000 on Sundays and holidays. There are two car-parks, capable of accommodating 35,000 cars. While all the subway lines have made extensions to the exhibition grounds, they are also building a bridge to shorten the distance, coming from New England; and an entirely new tunnel will facilitate the traffic out of Manhattan Island.

Within this impressive framework is displayed the spirit of America: a long series of historical exhibitions, a rich array of the scientific and technical marvels which are the basis of our astonishing industrial development. All this has been intelligently combined with artistic treatment in which light, colour and sound all play a part.

IN CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The exhibition commemorates the 150th anniversary of the election to the presidency of the United States of **George Washington**. A gigantic statue of Washington, about 60 feet high, rises opposite a reproduction of the old federal building in which the first president entered upon his office.

At the end of the central avenue one can see, above a staging of red, white and blue, the image of the Four Liberties: liberty of speech, press, assembly and religion. Sculptured figures of famous personalities of American regional folklore—such as **Paul Bunyan**, the legendary lumber-jack, and **Johnny Appleseed**, the fabulous preacher, are to stand amidst a décor of fountains and waterfalls. Almost all the states of the Union are to be represented here, each pavilion reflecting the local characteristics, history and chief industries of each state, together with any colonial influences, British, French or Spanish. In this manner, the visitor will be aided to understand the old cultures from which were born the United States.

The central building of the whole exhibition obviously is

the trylon and perisphere. The first consists of a majestic tower with three sides and 50 floors. The second is a spherical construction within which magic carpets transport the visitors to a miniature of the city of tomorrow, of which they will hear the sounds and see the sights. The globe is supported by eight steel columns which are concealed by the prismatic colouring projected by artificial fountains.

HITLER WAS INVITED TO BUILD A CHAMBER OF HORRORS

Over 60 nations are represented in the international section. As regards the fascist powers, Nazi Germany had to abandon the idea of a pavilion, without following the famous proposal of Mr. La Guardia, mayor of New York, that they construct a Chamber of Horrors. Italy and Japan have used the theme of "friendship" for the construction of their pavilions. In truth, they have been so "friendly" that Republican Spain, for instance, will not be represented at the World's Fair, having been too occupied in fighting against Italian "friendship."

And the uncompleted pavilion of the Czechoslovakian democracy will be an embarrassing witness to the uncompleted task of the League of Nations whose building, which has cost 75,000 dollars, will stand opposite the Pavilion of Peace.

The pavilion of the U.S.S.R.—like that which, two years ago, made so strong an impression on the French public at the International Exhibition at Paris—deserves particular notice. On top of its central tower rises a great steel statue holding aloft an illuminated five-pointed Soviet star which serves as a beacon for aircraft. Thus the Soviet pavilion, which is semi-circular in form, is the highest building in the exhibition, surpassing even the trylon and perisphere.

In one wing of the Soviet pavilion, which overhangs the lagoon, there will be a terrace restaurant, with a saloon and a bar. Russian, Ukrainian and Caucasian chefs have been brought over to work in this restaurant. Another wing will contain a cinema theatre. Along the length of the principal section, which is built of Soviet marble in seven different colours, runs a special construction representing Soviet Arctic exploration, with the tent and scientific equipment of the Papanin expedition. Opposite this, one may see the airplane on which Valery Chkalov, recently deceased, made his famous flight to the United States by way of the North Pole.

Another feature of the Soviet pavilion is a full-sized section of the Moscow Metro. Nor should we forget the exhibits of the arts and crafts, paintings, sculpture, embroidery, popular arts, wood engravings, textiles, characteristic of the world to-day of these citizens of the first Socialist country—citizens who have already tasted of the world of tomorrow.

There are, of course, certain disquieting features in this international exhibition. No one can be enthusiastic with regard to Mr. Grover Whalen's partial attitude towards the workers. Nothing has been said either of the financial conduct and support of the exhibition, the terms under which the site was granted, the political combinations, the huge sales, the commercial character of the whole enterprise. But, in estimating at its correct value that which the exhibition has given to the public, one will have to reply to such questions as: "What kind of world have we built? What kind of world are we now engaged in building? What kind of world should we build?" If the millions of visitors to the exhibition find that the replies to these questions are suggestive, the International Exhibition of 1939 will have achieved a result which its directors could hardly have foreseen.

An Enquiry into Youth Conditions in Great Britain

THE evidence presented to the recent National Hearing into youth conditions raises some very urgent problems for youth before the trade unions in Great Britain.

The position of youth in the main expanding and contracting industries is shown by the following figures. The main contracting industries are coal-mining (1,176,650 June 1923, to 699,080 in June 1937), cotton (430,240 in June 1923, to 366,110 in June 1937), woollens and worsted (240,410 in June 1923, to 202,930 in June 1937). In the coal industry the number of youth employed has fallen more rapidly than the number of adult miners employed. In the textile industry the proportion of young labour under 18 (as a percentage of operatives employed) has fallen from 7.9 per cent in 1912 to 3.9 per cent in 1933 for boys and from 14.8 per cent in 1912 to 9.6 per cent in 1933 for girls. The same is true of the Woollen and Worsted branch of the industry.

Distribution is the main expanding industry. The numbers employed increased from 1,143,350 in June, 1923, to 1,860,910 in June, 1937. Figures for the last two years show a decrease in the numbers employed aged 18-64 of 25,480 (of which 25,430 were males), while the nett increase in the numbers aged 14-18 was 56,050. The number of insured workers aged 16-64 years in employment in Miscellaneous Services was 476,020 in June, 1923, while in June, 1937, this had risen to 923,170. In 1935 the number of girls of 14-18 in Hotel and Boarding House Services constituted 9.3 per cent of the total females employed, while in 1937 it was 11.4 per cent. In Laundry Service the corresponding figures for girls were 27.4 per cent in 1935 and 30.9 per cent in 1937.

These figures show that the basic industries no longer offer a satisfactory future for the youth, while the position of young workers in the expanding industries is alarming. The increased employment is, first, in industries noted for their blind-alley and parasitic character; second, in apprenticeship industries where apprenticeship is rapidly declining, and where unemployment is very high; third, in the mass production industries where youth has little or no future.

For the next ten years at least the numbers entering industry will be considerably higher than those leaving on grounds of age, although the proportion will fall from two to one to three to two. This will further intensify the already difficult position of youth.

A similarly gloomy picture is shown by the figures on technical training. Apart from evening classes, which are only attended by one out of four children leaving school, and none of which can be considered to give vocational training, there are junior technical schools, technical day classes, day continuation classes, works schools, and senior courses in colleges. In all this variety of technical institutes only 86,882 students of all ages attended in 1937. Some idea of the gap is gained if we remember that there are 3,000,000 young workers aged 14-25 years. During 1937 the number of lads released from work to attend part-time technical classes was 36,225, of whom 10,195 came from the engineering trades; 4,608 from the food, drink and catering trades; 3,364 from the chemical and allied trades, and three thousand each from building, printing, and municipal and Government service.

One authority calculates that only 10 per cent of young workers receive technical instruction of some kind in industry. It cannot be claimed, therefore, that this small proportion of training has in any way replaced the apprenticeship system which still continues to decline.

Proportion of Skilled, Semi-skilled and Unskilled Workers in Firms belonging to the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation

Year	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
1914	60	20	20
1921	50	30	20
1926	40	45	15
1928	34	53	13
1933	32	57	11

("Wages and Labour Conditions in British Engineering," by M. L. Yates, page 32.)

The increase in mechanical processes in the factory means increased output for the employer and blind-alley jobs for youth; and furthermore, the great growth of semi-skilled work means a growth in the lower paid sections of workers with a corresponding decrease in the higher paid sections.

The material presented at the Youth Hearing shows that in general the situation of youth in industry has changed for the worse. While a small proportion of youth can even now get skilled positions, the prospect for the vast majority is unemployment or at best a semi-skilled job with no prospects and poor wages.

The figures presented on unemployment clearly show that the real problem of youth unemployment is the 21-24 age group, as is to be expected in view of the blind-alley character of industry.

Two new factors give these questions urgent and topical importance. One of these is the introduction of *Conscription* by the National Government. It is evident that great care will have to be taken by the trade unions to ensure that the interruption of the apprenticeship, and the six-months absence of the lads from their jobs, is not used by the employers as a weapon to decrease the number of skilled adult workers at skilled rates, and to reinstate the lads in semi-skilled jobs at lower rates of wages. Further, there is need to extend the immediate steps already taken by many unions to establish "patronage committees" in union branches and factories in order to safeguard the rights of the conscripts, to look after their jobs, to keep in touch with them while they are away, and to recruit them to the trade unions.

The other factor is the reduction in the hours of work of young people under 16 years from 48 hours to 44, which under the provision of the 1937 Factory Act should take place this year. Employers are bringing powerful pressure to bear to gain exemption from this Act. The trade unions have a heavy responsibility to ensure that these efforts to maintain the long hours worked by young boys and girls are defeated. Otherwise the struggle for the demands of the Youth Charter will receive a serious set-back, and the possibility of winning shorter hours for all will be jeopardised.

Success on these two issues will strengthen the influence and organisation of the trade unions among the youth, and will pave the way for a much wider movement to make radical improvements in the present conditions and future prospects of the young people of this country.

Youth Defends Its Independence

By Cor Fels

THE events of the past few months in Central Europe have shown in the most brutal way how right we were in September 1938 when we told the people who were garlanding the Chamberlains and Daladiers with flowers that Munich was not the beginning of a new period of peace but that, on the contrary, the threat of war had only increased since Munich.

The independence of the Netherlands is equally threatened.

Hitler fascism's greed for conquest is in reality directed in the first place against the West, because the western democracies have not offered any resistance.

In spite of Hitler's assurances of appeasement so far as Holland is concerned, assurances which were also given in the past to countries which have now been annexed, vigilance is more than ever the first duty of the day.

The policy of capitulation pursued by the British and French Governments, which is in perfect harmony with that pursued by the Dutch Government, makes the danger which threatens the independence of Holland every day more and more imminent.

Holland, with its colonies, its important ports, its strategic position—a bulwark against Britain—constitutes a desirable booty for Hitler.

The Dutch Government is striving to minimise, in the eyes of the Dutch people the dangers of the country's position. When President Roosevelt asked that Hitler should guarantee the security of Holland's frontiers as well, the Government took no action. It refused to do the least thing that might incur the anger of Hitler.

When Hitler asked if the Netherlands felt themselves

threatened by Germany, the Dutch Government hastened to reply that this was not the case.

In the past they strengthened the frontier defences, built barbed-wire barricades, and mined bridges and roads. Military service was extended to two years.

Why tear thousands of people from their trades, if they do not feel themselves threatened? In reality the Dutch Government knows the danger only too well. But it wants to lull the people and keep a possibility of compromise. The measures, taken by the Government, are of a military character only. It refuses categorically to take part in the preparation of a peace bloc against the aggressors. The reactionary Dutch Government was always one of the first to attempt to paralyse any initiatives in this direction.

It was the first "democratic" government to recognise Franco, and it is one of those who still, to-day, have not recognised the U.S.S.R.

Without wanting to spread panic, the *Federation of Dutch Youth* (N.J.F.) considers that it is its duty to draw the attention of the youth to the menace which has cost many countries their independence.

We must cry "Halt!" to the fascist aggressors.

For that, it is necessary that the Dutch people do not have confidence in the Chamberlains, the Daladiers or the Colijn-Goselings. They have proved more than once in the past that they are striving for an agreement with fascism.

For that, the unity of the youth is necessary, unity between the A.J.C. and the N.J.F. must be realised. The right-wing leaders of the A.J.C., *Peters* and *Thomassen*, continue to fight against this unity, thus taking on themselves the responsibility for the fact that the Dutch youth is not in a condition to organise resistance against fascism. The heads of the R.U.S.P. have recently shown once again how little they are worthy of confidence in the defence of democracy and the independence of peoples. Those who, while not being in agreement with the policy of *Peters* and *Thomassen*, do not raise their voices against this policy bear a part of the responsibility. Whoever, to-day, opposes unity, or is silent on this question, works against the interests of the Dutch people.

Finally, it is necessary that a Government be formed which will reflect the will of the people, the will for defence against German aggression, a Government which will put our people in a state of defence, from the economic as well as the military point of view.

For such a Government, the Dutch youth is ready to sacrifice its life!

We shall be good defenders of our country and of our rights. We want well-being and happiness in a free and independent Holland.

We want to strengthen and develop our people's traditions of freedom.

We want to safeguard Holland and make of it a free and happy fatherland for the Dutch youth.

BRIEF NEWS FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Denmark

During the negotiations for the German-Danish Pact 600 young Nazis, coming partly from the Third Reich and partly from Danish Sleswig, met in the latter province for a demonstration. Instructors had come from the Reich for this function.

International Alliance of Socialist Students

Two years ago, in July 1937, the International Alliance of Socialist Students was established at a Congress of Socialist, Communist and progressive students of the whole world, held at Paris. The second Congress of this International Alliance will take place on July 16, 17 and 18 in la Maison de la Mutualité, 24 Rue Saint Victor, Paris, 5e.

The main item of the agenda will be: Students in the struggle against fascism and war.

Interview with Japanese Officers, Prisoners of the 8th Route Army

By Kung Pieng

It was a cold and snowy day. Being in Shansi Province, I went with one of my friends to the "Information Service" of the Chinese Eighth Army so as to have an interview with three Japanese who had been captured. Brought up in Formosa, the chief officer of the Information Service—one of the best fighters of what was the Red Army, speaking Japanese perfectly—was good enough to act as interpreter for me.

WE were conducted to a room where we found three Japanese soldiers, dressed in Chinese uniform. On our arrival they got up and greeted us with friendly gestures. It was a curious feeling, trying to have a friendly conversation with men belonging to the same race as those who assassinate our comrades, capture our womenfolk and poison our children.

The three prisoners were very young. *Sigarato Kita* and *Okaga Takesi* were 25 years old. *Kobuyasai Tukeo* was 27 years old. *Sigarato* came from Kyoto. He was a mason getting 90 yen a month. He had graduated from a high commercial school. He had been taken prisoner as he was leaving the Ping-Han railway station with his regiment.

Okaga also came from Kyoto. Maker of tin biscuit boxes, he was paid 40 yen a month and had a school certificate. He was captured near the railway at Tung-Pu where he was driving a lorry.

Kobuyasai had come to China at the age of one. He had lived for 25 years in Mukden and spoke excellent Chinese. He had been captured at Taiku in the Shansi Province.

"What did you think about China before you were sent there? Why were you fighting?" I asked them. They told us the Chinese hated us. When we joined up we were told that we were setting out to fight for the peace of the world. The war would not last very long. But above all we came to China because we were forced to do so.

Next we spoke of the life of the Japanese soldiers. They are paid nine dollars a month, that is to say far less than they used to be paid. In comparison with the bravery and courage which animates the Chinese army, their morale was very low.

"I would like to know," I told them, "what the Japanese think of the Eighth Army, and what is the influence of the leaflets it distributes?"

"We considered the Eighth Army as one of our most formidable obstacles, for it is at once courageous and skilful in manœuvring. Its sudden attacks always surprised us and we could not escape them. At all costs we wanted to avoid meeting it. The Japanese soldiers only read the leaflets that are sent them in secret. Often they ask themselves whether the treatment that prisoners are supposed to suffer is really a fact. Often they try to ignore the leaflets but they are influenced by them since they are more feeling the blows of the Eighth Army."

"What were your feelings when you were captured alive? Were you afraid?"

Okaga could say nothing about this: he was unconscious when he was taken prisoner. *Kobuyasai* said he was afraid of being condemned to death.

Sigarato said he had had no fear at all. In order to explain his reply, he said "I am a fatalist. I considered my capture as something that had to happen. What would have been the use of being frightened?"

"After having been well-treated in the Eighth Army, and after having heard the conferences that have taken place I realised that what I had considered as absolutely inevitable was in fact the reverse. I had lived for 25 years believing in the utility of the Japanese capitalists and militarists. I was plunged into profound confusion. For a week I sought for the truth, and now I have found it. We, the Japanese, are simply the instruments of the Japanese fascists. The Japanese people never wanted the war. Japanese and Chinese are brothers in the common struggle against Japanese imperialism."

They conversed for a few moments in Japanese. They ended by telling us:

"Although we are Japanese, we understand that it is necessary for the Japanese and the Chinese to help each other. Peace can only be established in Asia when we have got rid of the war-lords and got rid of our exploiters. Such must be our common aim. We want to enter the Chinese Eighth Army so as to struggle for our freedom; we find ourselves in the very heart of the Chinese army."

China's Young Patriots

By Olga Tshitshtokina

SINCE the war for national liberation began, the activity of China's youth and its participation in the social life of the country have increased immeasurably. The young Chinese strive to enter the ranks of the youth organisations so that they may pool their strength in the struggle against the common enemy. Many new youth organisations have been founded during this period: associations to save the homeland, agitation groups, clubs in which the young may receive military and political training, and various cultural and other organisations. In the north-western areas, where many new youth organisations have been founded and old ones reorganised, the most popular mass organisation is the 300,000 strong "Youth League for the Salvation of the Homeland," whose membership is composed mainly of young peasants. There are also such mass youth organisations as the "United Students' Association for the Salvation of the Homeland," the "Women's Association for Aid for the Wounded Fighters," and others.

All the numerous youth organisations in China were formerly disunited and did nothing in common. Only when the united national front was established did the youth organisations begin to unite. The most characteristic thing about the youth organisations in China to-day is their unity. On the basis of a resolution by the Kuomintang, a new organisation, the "Party of Youth," was brought into being, which, in the form of a federation, includes all the youth organisations and is based on Sun-Yat-Sen's three fundamental principles.

China's youth united to fight in the defence of its homeland and to achieve its complete liberation from the Japanese military clique. While the war lasts, China's youth fights not only on the fronts but carries through a tremendous amount of military education. It understood how to educate many thousands of excellent soldiers, devoted to their homeland, and hundreds of militarily and politically well-trained commanders. Let it suffice to quote the names of those two brave pilots of the Chinese Air Force whose names are sacred to China's young patriots: *Li-Wei-Tan*, who has shot down twelve Japanese planes in single combat, and *Yan-Chei-Wen*, who had to make a forced landing in Japanese territory and, fighting, killed ten Japanese. Both died like heroes.

China's youth is organising military camps for the training of specialised forces for the front. The Chinese Army already contains whole divisions composed exclusively of the young. Such a division, for instance, is the 115th Division of the 8th Revolutionary People's Army, whose commander, *Lin-Bjao*, is still quite young and a member of the Young Communist League. Having been wounded in battle, he did not waste his time while in hospital, but studied about the enemy forces and the methods of struggle against them. Not for nothing did the Chinese army leader *Chu-Teh* say about him: "Among us he is a great authority on Japanese matters."

China's youth fights bravely and unselfishly. The following story is told about the girl patriot, *Ma-Su*:—

A Japanese company was marching through a desolated Chinese village. A few undestroyed stone huts, whose inhabitants had fled to the mountains, still remained here and there, and deep holes, torn into the earth by Japanese planes and heavy artillery, burnt-out wreckage and rags thrown away by the plunderers of the Japanese Army were to be seen.

All of a sudden the rat-tat-tat of a machine-gun was heard behind a hill, and a few Japanese fell.

Orders were given, and a detachment of cavalry rode to the hill, to be received with hand-grenades. The machine-gun behind

the hill busily continued firing—one machine-gun against an entire division, and beside it four young Chinese.

The machine-gun became silent. All four were led to the steep banks of the Yangtse river. One prisoner after the other fell down the incline and vanished in the water. But one did not wait for the bullet. A quick turn of the little body and a splash was heard before any order could be given.

One prisoner succeeded in escaping. It was a girl: *Ma-Su*, the champion swimmer of Nanking. Her parents and brothers were murdered by the Japanese; she joined a group of partisans.

Ma-Su succeeded in reaching the town Nantsin, where there was a small Chinese detachment. Japanese troops, five times as strong as its defenders, were approaching the town. *Chan*, the commander of the Chinese detachment, realised that to fight would mean its destruction, but that to retreat would deliver up the population of the town to the Japanese Samurai. After a short consultation, *Ma-Su*, *Chan* and a group of commanders worked out the plan of action. Two men were ordered to place time-bombs under the embankment of the discharge canal.

After an hour a beautifully dressed girl came down the hill into the green valley, a few miles from the town, where the Japanese detachments were encamped. She demanded to be led to the commander.

She told him that she had an excellent plan, a plan that would bring easy victory to the Japanese troops. She would lead the Japanese along a narrow, unknown path over the embankment of the discharge canal, and the town would be taken by surprise. The girl declared herself to be the daughter of a manufacturer whose ceramics factory had been set on fire by Chinese soldiers.

The girl's story seemed credible to the Japanese officer, and he followed her at the head of his troops.

The girl was *Ma-Su*; she hurried her steps while furtively glancing at her little wrist-watch.

There's the embankment. The last seconds pass.

"Revenge for my father, for my brothers, for the thousands of innocent victims!" *Ma-Su* suddenly cried, turning to the Japanese. "Revenge for our homeland!"

The exploding bombs stifled her words. Fragments of the embankment flew into the air. *Ma-Su* perished with the Japanese, but she saved the town and its defenders.

In the areas under Japanese occupation, China's youth is developing a widespread partisan movement in which students play a particularly active role. It did very much to make China's people rise for a war of liberation against the Japanese conqueror. Many of the partisan groups consist solely of young people. *Chao-Tun*, a student at the North-Eastern University, leads the partisan movement in the Peiping area. His detachment, incidentally, gets its munitions, weapons and clothing from the Japanese during the battles.

The Chinese students have sent the best of their number to work in the towns, in the factories and on the land to teach the people to read and to write. They also work on the fronts, teaching the elements of reading and writing to the soldiers during lulls in the fighting or rest pauses on the march. Throughout the country the students have carried out the collection of money for the defence of the country.

The young Chinese patriots work overtime in the factories on their own initiative and refuse any kind of reward for it. Very frequently, when heavy work is to be done in difficult sections of the armament industry, the young people encourage the adults, who follow their example.

Socially organised youth groups assist the peasants to cultivate the land, to bring in the harvest, and with other agricultural work. The families of soldiers at the front are the special care of the young Chinese. They help them in the fields, in the improvement of barns, and carry out much other work in the home, thus making up for the fathers, husbands and brothers who have left for the front.

Small youth groups are active throughout the country, forcing their way to the foremost parts of the front in spite of all dangers and difficulties. They are agitation groups, theatre groups, "Living Newspapers." Between battles they perform some plays for the soldiers. They read letters for the wounded and write replies for them, they play with the children who have

lost their parents and are living in children's homes and teach the peasants to read and write. They carry laughter, cheerfulness and joy through the whole country, giving voice to the hope for a bright future. They embody what is so needful in the difficult times of war: they link up the army with the people, a sure pledge of victory. That is accomplished by these young and very young members of the small groups which are wandering through the country!

China's youth does all it can to cement the unity of the whole people. It fights for its homeland against all enemies, internal and external; it especially abominates traitors to their native land—Trotskyists, these paid agents of Japanese imperialism. And in the everyday struggle, assisting the people in their war for national liberation, China's youth is strengthening itself and, with new resolution, it is entering upon the new struggle, which it is firmly convinced will lead to victory.

In the Country of Socialism

Young Volunteers Will Build a Railway

SHORTLY after Stalin's report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), *Goudok*, journal of the railway workers, published a letter from three young Communists working in the workshops of the Poltava section of the Southern Railway system of the U.S.S.R. The letter was written by the young Communists: M. Skriptchenko, Timachev and Vershinin. All three asked to be sent to work on the construction of the main line from Akmolinsk to Kartala. They did not have to wait long for the reply of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the U.S.S.R. and of the political leaders of the People's Commissariat for Transport. Another group of young people soon joined the initiators of the movement. Young people from all regions of the Soviet Union sent in letters in which they expressed their desire to take part in the construction of the new railway. In this way there began the enormous volunteer movement of young engineers for the realisation of an important section of the Third Five-Year Plan.

During the Third Five-Year Plan the Soviet people intends to construct 11,000 kilometres of new railway lines and one of the principal of these lines will be that from Kartala to Akmolinsk: it will be 806 kilometres long. The new line will be the shortest railway linking the Karaganda mines with the Magnitogorsk blast furnaces. In this way, the coal of Karaganda will have the road towards the Urals opened to them. The route for coal trains will be half as short. The enormous importance of this new railway for the national economy does not consist only in that. This route crosses the immense steppes of Kazakhstan, the fertile zone of Kazakhstan which is rich in different mineral deposits. Thus, "by the way," the railway will ensure the rapid development of those regions of Kazakhstan which up till now have been separated from the industrial centres of the land.

Never in the history of rail transport has there been a case of the construction of so big a railway line in a single year. The railway is due to begin working from the end of the year 1939. In April one of the engineers, working on the construction, told the correspondent of the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* that, during the nine months that were left, it was necessary to realise 11 million cubic metres of earth works, to install 211 concrete pipes and to construct 80 small bridges and 10 medium-sized ones.

An enormous depot of modern type construction machines supplies the work. Here there are 32 excavators, 12 special tractors for earth works, four special machines which put lines into place automatically, and a whole series of other machines for transport, excavation machines and cranes, as well as mobile electrical centres and motors.

But in spite of the enormous quantity of machines the work will not go on without men. In order to construct the railway in record time more than 20,000 people are needed. Engineers, technicians, adjusters, joiners, navvies, accountants, etc.

In addition, a large network of medical, commercial and cultural institutions will be needed for the constructors.

To-day 5,000 people are working on the construction. They are young voluntary workers, and their number increases daily.

OUTBURST OF ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM AND WILL FOR WORK FOR THE REALISATION OF THE GREAT PLAN

Evidently in our country, as in all capitalist countries, there are to be found young and old people who are always ready to construct railways on condition that they are given the chance. Above all these are the unemployed who constantly are seeking work. But in the capitalist country the majority of young people do not find work, and those who do find it know that this work only serves the interests of the capitalists, while they, the constructors, only receive a miserable wage: that is why they do not feel any enthusiasm for work.

It is different in the Land of Socialism. Young constructors know that their work benefits the whole of society, that they are working for themselves, and this thought fills them with an enthusiasm that is strange to the majority of western workers.

But the example of the Soviet youth shows us that the youth are full of enthusiasm when they have the opportunity of working for the society in which there is no place for exploiters. When the first group of young volunteers set out for the construction of the Akmolinsk-Kartala railway, the young people explained in the Soviet press the reasons that induced them to do this work.

This is what Comrade *Timashev*, one of the initiators of the movement, said:

"When we read in the newspapers what a great importance this railway had for our country, my comrades Skriptchenko, Vershinin and I decided to launch an appeal to the youth and to the young Communists to make this into a Young Communist Construction."

The young joiner V. Kvitevski stated:

"I am setting out for the construction of the Akmolinsk-Kartala railway because I understand the importance of this railway for the national economy of the Soviet Union. This railway will bring socialist Soviet culture to our western Republics."

Skriptchenko told how, after the report of Comrade Stalin, he had felt "such an impulse of energy, such an *elan* that it would be difficult to translate into words."

The front of young heroes of socialist work is growing more and more. The railway will be constructed by the determination of the youth. The great plan is in course of realisation.

This same attitude towards work will inspire our young people, too, when they have the possibility of working for the building of socialism, when we no longer have any capitalists, and when everything which is built will belong to those who build it, to the whole people.

Learn and Comprehend

The French Revolution and Its Cultural Work

By Georges Cogniot

AN illustrious revolutionary, **Friedrich Engels**, has written that "any victorious revolution has had as a consequence a great moral and spiritual upsurge." We know how true these words are in connection with the glorious revolution which broke out in France 150 years ago. We know with what a high outlook, what generosity, what sense of greatness the National Convention—at the moment when it had to surmount the worst difficulties in order to ensure the defence of the country and to accomplish a work of complete internal reorganisation—concerned itself with the most varied cultural questions, from the inventory of precious collections to the translation of Bacon's works, from the conservation of artistic objects captured by the French corsairs to the institution of national rewards for great discoveries and the State taking over responsibility for the cost of scientific voyages.

The proof given by educational policy of the Revolution is no less clear and no less convincing. And for us it is, further, full of practical lessons.

We can always consult the pedagogic and educational testament of the men of 1789-94 with a great deal of profit. And that is explained by two reasons. The first is that the educational work of the Revolution is extremely rich, produced as it was at the end of the 18th century, so full of educational plans aimed at regenerating humanity. The second is the boldness of these plans, established in a period of energetic struggle of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie against feudal reaction, and so advanced that much of them still remains to be achieved.

The richness of pedagogic thought of the 18th century is recalled as soon as the names of **Rousseau**, **Condillac**, **Helvetius**, **Diderot** and **Morelly** are mentioned. What differences between men! One must go farther: what evident opposition, stressed by the men themselves.

THE HUMANIST IDEAL

But how small all these clouds seem in the brilliant picture of pedagogical thought of the 18th century.

It is the same humanist ideal that animated the philosophers of the 18th century that animates those of to-day, to allow every child, every member of society, fully to develop the resources of his personality in such a way, as **Diderot** said, as to "make happiness" for each and every one, to lead to "all kinds of pleasure without peril and without inconvenience."

We still demand that free education for all for which **Diderot** struggled. We demand it, as he did, in the name of the public interest.

"A university is a school whose doors are open without distinction to all the children of a nation. . . I say **without distinction** because it would be as cruel as it would be absurd to condemn the lower ranks of society to ignorance. . . . The number of thatched cottages and other private houses being in the proportion of ten thousand to one palace, there are ten thousand chances to one that genius, talent and virtue will come rather from the thatched cottage than from the palace."

There is no less of present day interest in recalling the

* It is natural that demands for the introduction of public education by the State should have been the dominant pre-occupation of the assemblies of 1789. This is so obvious that we do not stress the point; up till that time it was always the bishop, or his delegate who had the right to approve, watch over and even dismiss the schoolmasters (whom the communities, generally represented by the fathers of families, could only choose). Thus it had been decided in article 14 of the decree of December 1606 and article 25 of the decree of April 5, 1695. The "little school" gave instruction above all in matters of faith.

profound demands of the people in 1789 so far as public education was concerned, as they were expressed in the **Cahiers de Doléances** (Letters of Complaints). It would be easy to show that what the forefathers of the peasants, the workers and the small men of to-day were demanding then, has still not been realised completely. It would be opportune to bring into prominence, for those who doubt the legitimacy of the great educational demands of the people, the age of these demands, their principle of dignity, and the way in which they arose, 150 years ago, from the depths of the nation.

It is a **Paris** Letter of Complaints which demands that "public education be extended to all classes of citizens." That of the **Lyons** Third Estate wants "free schools in each parish." The peasants of **Pau** echo them in expressing the hope that "schools for the education of the young be increased." The **Orleans** district wants "that studies in the universities be reorganised and improved, the professors paid and instruction made free." Need it be stressed that free higher education remains one of the demands of democracy to-day?

The **Gisors** region Third Estate concerned itself with getting the education of the poor paid for by the rich: in Article 28 of its letters it wrote: "That there be established in every parish in the kingdom free schools for the instruction of the young at the expense of the big tithe-holders. And the feeling expressed by the Third Estate of **Nemours** is a general one—in the name of the power and energy of the nation, in the name of the public interest which presupposes enlightened citizens to present "an invincible barrier to any ignorant or guilty administration"; it demands that "public education be particularly favoured." Does it not still await this particular favouring?

FIVE YEARS WHICH WILL NOT BE OBLITERATED FROM HISTORY

The heads of the Fascist states have brutally proclaimed their hatred of the French Revolution and of the principles of 1789-94.

Ceaselessly they attack our people because of the most glorious period in its history. **Benito Mussolini** declares that "fascism represents the antithesis" of the whole world of immortal principles of 1789. He depicts fascism as a reaction against the "movement of the enlightenment of the 18th Century and the Encyclopaedia."† **Hitler** speaks contemptuously of the "sanctity of old principles" (September 9, 1936), **Goebbels**, in *Revolution der Deutschen*, wrote "The year 89 will be wiped out of history."

Open a book as widely distributed as "Essays on the Renaissance of Germany" which is edited by the Breslau section of the German teachers fascist organisation. We read there:

"The Nordic man is the creator of civilisation to-day."

But there has been a misfortune: "It was the Great Revolution that crushed the Germanic leaders of the French people."

"The French nobility in its entirety or almost so, including the Bourbon dynasty, was Germanic. That is why, at the time of the French Revolution, the hatred of the populace was directed above all against the nobility. Sometimes it was enough to have a fair head in order to be guillotined. The unchained submen gave themselves up

† It is the less understandable that the Government should tolerate, and encourage, Italian schools in France, which are obvious offices of fascist propaganda. Fascist schools and evening classes are practically obligatory, since the consulates can always bully the recalcitrant emigres. So it is in Lorraine, Gascogne, etc.

to an orgy. The superior, and Nordic, class of France lost oceans of blood under the guillotine."

And what has the official philosopher of the Third Reich, **Alfred Rosenberg**, to say in his work on the "Myth of the Twentieth Century." On page 102 and onwards he says that all French thinkers, all the philosophers of the 18th century, all those of the 17th even (they mean Descartes, doubtless, that dangerous rationalist!) in a word all the Classical Frenchmen were distinguished because of their penetrating mind and their sagacity: but, without exception, they were deprived of "all true nobility of feeling."

The same "theory," or rather the same hatred combined with the most frightful poverty of thought, in the book of **Ewald K. B. Mangold** on *France and the Racial Idea*, a book considered as very important in the Third Reich.

"The French Revolution as such is the rebellion of the Mediterranean-Alpine mass against the domination of a noble and bourgeois 'führer' section, whose race was predominantly nordic in character."

Finally, it should be remembered that the *National-Socialist Publishing House of Hans Poetsch*, at Breslau, published, two years ago, a truly revealing book on "intellectual" life in the Third Reich. The book in question is *Jewish Ritual Murder* by **Gerhard Utikal**. As foreword the book has the facsimile of a letter from the Reich Official Service for the Development of German Literature, in which it is warmly recommended "Inasmuch as it is the first truly popular exposure of Jewish ritual murders." In the preface it is stressed that the book is dedicated to "all foreigners of good will." The passage relative to the French Revolution concludes with these words:

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST IRRATIONAL OF ALL MYSTICISMS FASCISM CLAIMS TO TAKE FROM HUMANITY THE HERITAGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

"If it is a question of mass Jewish murders then the French Revolution, which began in 1789 with the taking of the Bastille, should not be forgotten. It was, in the first place, the work of Freemasonry. Competent experts have been justified in qualifying Freemasonry as artificial Judaism. Methodically it prepared the emancipation of the Jews and watched over its realisation in all countries. It is certain that the Lodges are a product of the Jewish mind. The manners and customs of these institutions are to a large extent borrowed from Jewish ritual and the installation of the lodges is an imitation of the Temple of Jerusalem.

"The heads of the French Revolution were freemasons: from among many it is only necessary to mention *Danton*, *Robespierre* and *Marat*. The latter was even of Jewish origin and all his actions were determined by this fact. In this way the whole French Revolution, if not directly then at least indirectly, was a Jewish affair. If in those days the Jews did not play the preponderant role they were later to assume in all European Revolutions, they drew the greatest profit from it. In fact it was the French Revolution that inaugurated the emancipation of the Jews and which took the first step towards ensuring them equality of rights in Europe. The massacres of the years 1789-1795 were, in consequence, only carried out to the profit of Judaism.

"In the last analysis it is necessary to state that thousands of Aryans were sacrificed to give the Jews the possibility of obtaining freedom and equality of rights in all the States of Europe."

Such texts only make up a small part of the ignoble literature—but dangerous because of its very mass—which is distributed in Germany and outside of Germany in order to fight against the most glorious events of French history and against France. Will not people understand that it is the more a sacred duty, under such conditions, to organise the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Revolution, and in particular its educational, civilising, humanist work, with the greatest possible effect both in France and abroad?

It is in the name of the most irrational and the most barbarous mysticism of all—that of Blood and Race—that they claim to take from humanity the great heritage of the Encyclopaedists and of the French Eighteenth Century, which is also the heritage of Goethe. The Revolution exalted the organising role, the power, the achievements of human reason: but Hitler to-day has the Condorcet "refuted" by a Spengler, for

whom "in human history, basically, there is no meaning" and by a Goebbels who supports the idea that "intellectualism is a danger, intelligence a peril for the formation of character."

The French Revolution placed, as did *Helvetius* and *Diderot*, the source of happiness and the aim of education, in freedom, in the institution of a harmonious relation between self-love and altruism. Its fascist enemies only teach and practice the disciplining, constraint and brutal enslavement of peoples and minds.

The French Revolution called on the peoples to let friendship and equality between races and nations reign. Its fascist enemies have poisoned education and science with chauvinism, at the same time as they multiply aggressions and wars of invasion.

The French Revolution was concerned with placing the primary school teacher very high in society; it sought the most illustrious masters of the time for the central schools, for the Paris Normande School; it had a great deal of confidence in the teaching profession, whose civilising activity it intended to develop, into adult circles. In the fascist states, the teaching personnel has lost all authority and all liberty, not only of organisation but also of expression. According to the German Law of January 26, 1937 on civil servants, explained in a speech by Minister of the Interior Frick, the civil servant is no longer bound to the State by a bond of service, but bound to the Führer by a personal relationship of "faithfulness" which is based on the oath and which is only ended by death: not only his existence, but his juridical status is that of a slave. By virtue of the Law of December 1, 1936 the Hitler Youth, transformed into a State organisation, with membership compulsory for all young people, has become omnipotent so far as the education of the youth is concerned. The teacher no longer has either the prestige or the time to develop his pupils.

The French Revolution attributed the greatest value, particularly in central schools, to general culture of scientific content and modern character. This general culture only fills the Ministers of Public Ignorance with fear and hatred. In consequence we see that secondary studies are reduced in Germany, and the concentration of study courses around three subjects alone, which are, chauvinistic history, racist "biology" and military sport.

The French Revolution developed or created all the great scientific institutions of our country. In Germany, it is a General who has been placed at the head of the National Research Council (Reichsforschungsrat). Science has lost its value with liberty. The result of 5 years struggle against "intellectualism" from top to bottom of education, four years military discipline in the schools and persecution of science at the Universities becomes apparent in the pitiful lack of culture of the country's young cadres, which is causing ceaseless complaints from the heads of factories, from old professors, artists and generals even in the columns of the fascist press.

The French Revolution made a generous plan for a system of education which would affect all the children, which would be truly public and national, profoundly unitary and democratic which would make education "as equal, as universal" as possible (Condorcet.) The last word of the educational policy of the Nazis, which has already made it impossible for children of the people to attain to secondary and higher education, has been to create, quite outside the general organisation of public education, a privileged school system for the officials of the regime (System of Adolf Hitler schools, instituted January 17, 1937.)

The educational policy and pedagogical conceptions of the fascists are the very opposite of what the French Revolution wanted to do. "You will feel" said Robespierre in his great speech of the 18th floreal, "the need for making education general and equal for all Frenchmen. It is no longer a question of making gentlemen, but citizens."

To-day, the fascist school intends to train a narrow section of masters, and a multitude of slaves. The democratic school will truly fulfil its functions when "general and equal," it makes all its pupils into free men, able to develop their personality harmoniously and independently. In face of the threat fascism brings to humanism and culture, may all men of education, science and progress make of the 150th Anniversary of the French Revolution the occasion for energetic resolutions which can drive back the flood of this barbarism and save the future.

The Contribution of Lenin and Stalin To Marxism

By Maurice Thorez

LENIN did not only defend the doctrine of Marx and Engels against the revisionists and the falsifiers of social-democracy. Lenin developed Marxist theory. He studied the phenomena of the development of the capitalism of our time. He discovered, as Marx and Engels were unable to do, the law of the Unequal Development of capitalism in its last phase, in its imperialist phase.

In consequence Lenin drew the conclusion that the victory of Socialism in one single country was possible, this country, in those circumstances and in the given historic period being the old empire of the tsars which has become the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin, in the imperialist epoch of wars and revolutions, gave new life to the Marxist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, by enriching it with the new experiences of the international proletariat, with the lessons of the Paris Commune, which had already been stressed by Marx himself, and also the lessons of the two Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Lenin stressed the universal application of the "Soviets" as organs of struggle and organs of power of the working class.

Lenin stressed the role of the emancipatory movement in the colonial countries as allies of the revolutionary proletariat in the ruling country. He defined the bases of the alliance of the working class with the decisive sections of the peasantry. Thus was Marxist-Leninist theory formed.

But, like all theory, like all science, Marxist-Leninist theory develops, constantly becomes more perfect. The merit, the greatness of our great Stalin lies precisely in the substantial contributions with which he ceaselessly enriched the doctrine of the founders of scientific socialism, in the new progress which, thanks to his work, Marxism-Leninism made.

Stalin, applying and developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching, elaborated the theory of Socialist construction in a single country. On the basis of the formidable experiences of the Soviet Union in socialist construction, Stalin successively made clear the different aspects of economic, political, social and cultural development in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin, disciple and successor to Lenin, led from the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy pursued provisionally in 1921) to the liquidation of capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, to industrialisation, to the collectivisation of the countryside, to the progressive evolution of millions of individual and backward economies towards socialism, to the achievement of the construction of a classless socialist society, to the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

The Stalinist theory clarifies and guides the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a socialist democracy of the whole people, including a true, universal, direct and secret suffrage, with rights of voting and eligibility for all free producers: men and women, young and old, workers and peasants, workers by hand and by brain.

The Stalinist constitution is the granite monument which does not only ensure the march of the peoples of the Soviet Union to progress and happiness, but which gives all the workers of the world the certainty of the victory of their cause, of the triumph of Communism.

The adversaries of Communism, the enemies of the people, think to annoy us by calling us Stalinists. They do not see that it is for us a proud title that we strive to merit. Our greatest desire, our supreme ambition, is to become tried Marxist-Leninists, true Stalinists.

Our Communist Party could not have found the correct path, it could not have kept to it, if it had not begun to assimilate Marxist-Leninist theory.

"The power of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course, and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future.

"Only a Party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward." (*"History of the C.P.S.U."* page 355.)

In the light of Marxist-Leninist theory we considered

Munich—the capitalist cliques' attempt at compromise—not as an end, not as "the end of a 20 year crisis," but as a moment of evolution.

In the light of Marxism-Leninism, we considered that Munich did not overcome the class contradictions in each of the capitalist countries, the antagonisms between the different capitalist countries in the international arena, and above all the latent conflict which puts aggressor fascism in opposition to the rest of the world. We at that time defined a firm policy, taking our analysis and our perspectives into account; consequently, the events that we were able to foresee have verified, for us and in the eyes of the masses, the correctness and firmness of our proletarian policy.

Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that it is necessary to see in everything "something which is born and which dies," something which evolves and is transformed, under the influence of other phenomena, reacting in its turn on its environment. Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us in consequence to judge a situation in its entirety, while taking into account each special element and factor of the given situation, while taking into account the reciprocal and variable influences of these elements on the development of the situation.

We have learned that what is truth to-day need not be so to-morrow. For example, our Communist Party being one of the factors in the development of France, on its activity may depend important modifications in the direction of working-class interests, in the interests of the people. We have, therefore, learnt to determine a tactic which necessarily varies in relation to the changes in the situation. We have learned to advance slogans which are appropriate to the conditions, to the given circumstances.

We have learned to reject slogans which are no longer suitable for a new situation. We have learned to combine FIRMNESS of principle, CAPACITY to manoeuvre, SUPPLENESS of tactics. We have learned to press boldly forward when circumstances are favourable, and to hold our positions, if necessary beating a retreat in good order, when the class enemy is in a position to attack.

Documents

Memorandum from Unified Socialist Youth of Spain to the Sections of The Y.S.I.

"Although the J.S.U. of Spain has covered itself in glory, it is now the object of the same kind of attacks as those made on the Socialist youth movements of Great Britain and Belgium. The enemies of unity are threatening to expel the gallant J.S.U. from the Young Socialist International. The Executive Committee is making an appeal to all the sections of the Young Socialist International. We publish below extracts from the J.S.U. memorandum.

THE agents of Franco cannot forgive the J.S.U. for its struggle against fascism at the battlefield, its devoted action for consolidating the unity of youth, for realising working-class unity and, primarily, the unity of the Socialists and Communists in order to consolidate the People's Front. The agents of Franco cannot forgive the energetic struggle the J.S.U. led to denounce them.

Lamoneda, secretary of the Socialist Party, declared: "Only those who look on the past as a danger which might turn them into pillars of salt can think of breaking the unity of youth."

The Casado coup was used by the Trotskyist-Caballerist group in order to let loose its hatred of the J.S.U. and of its best qualified leaders.

The group transformed itself into a committee of the so-called "National-Socialist Youth" (Franco and his troops also call themselves "Nationalists") whose task was to destroy the Spanish Antifascist Youth Alliance (this magnificent example of unity which gained for the J.S.U. the congratulations of the Bureau of the Young Socialist International at its Brussels meeting in February, 1938) and to split the J.S.U. in order to prepare the peace, that is the selling of the Spanish youth to Franco.

The period of terror and illegality began. But the J.S.U., strong and loved by the youth, steeled in the fires of glorious

battles, educated in the school of heroism, knew how to escape the repressive measures. It continued to work to prevent the Republican fronts being opened to the enemy, and of warning the people against the betrayal. In spite of their efforts, the traitors could not prevent the J.S.U. from carrying on the fight against Franco's armies.

Nor could they split the J.S.U. All the blows aimed at the unity of the J.S.U. were broken on the firmness of its militant members. After a month of treason, when the Casado clique finally abandoned the country to Franco, the Trotskyist-Caballerist group had to admit that, despite their threats and crimes, not a single member of the youth followed them. The banner of the J.S.U. remained on high, invincible in the struggle against fascism and its agents.

The Spanish people has not been beaten. The struggle goes on and will only end by our victory over the oppression of national and foreign fascism.

Despite the terror, the Spanish people and its youth have not lowered their heads. They are preparing for future struggles and for the final victory.

For our Federation, the period of the Casado betrayal was one of apprenticeship and preparation for underground work in new conditions of Franco fascist terror. We still continue our struggle for national independence, for a democratic Republic, against fascist terror, misery, and slavery, against the militarisation of the country which Germany and Italy are carrying out in preparation for an attack on the free and democratic countries of Europe.

But in order to carry on the fight, unity is more necessary than ever. The circumstances in which the occupation of Republican Spain was brought about make all the members of the great J.S.U. realise that the prime condition for destroying a regime of oppression is to maintain an even more solid unity among the youth, the working class and the Popular Front. The traitors and enemy agents who try to creep into our ranks must be denounced.

50,000 members of the J.S.U. are prepared to accept the difficult conditions of life in the French refugee camps because they have faith in the inevitability of our victory. They are behind the J.S.U. and its Executive Committee to a man, ready to fight against fascism in the democratic countries which give them shelter.

Franco is uniting the anti-fascists in prisons, concentration camps, on the scaffold, where no distinction is made between Communists, Socialists and Republicans.

In these conditions, when unity is the most essential factor in order to carry on the struggle, only a criminal hand would try to split the J.S.U.

Is there anybody ready to undertake this treasonable task?

From Oran, the so-called committee of the "National Socialist Youth" writes to the Young Socialist International demanding the exclusion of the glorious J.S.U., and demanding its recognition as the representative of Spanish youth in the Young Socialist International.

Despite their infamous betrayal and with revolting cynicism, hated by the young Spanish Socialists and Communists and representing nobody, they are demanding our exclusion on the pretext that some of the leaders and active members of the J.S.U. are members of the Communist Party.

This is true, and we have never denied it. We call to mind that the unanimous decision of the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International was taken at Amsterdam to admit us into their ranks, after having heard a report in which Comrade Carrillo declared:

"Since our unification, our Federation has ceased to be an organisation of the youth of one Party and has become a mass non-Party organisation of working-class youth. But this has not prevented us from maintaining cordial relations with the parties and organisations of the Popular Front, and especially with the Socialist and Communist parties, the two great defenders of our unity.

"Our Unified Federation which is the product of the union of Young Socialists and Communists, whose militant workers are taught to love unity, agreed to ratify affiliation

to the Young Socialist International, providing no modification took place of character or composition. We believe in the absolute necessity of the unity of the young Socialists and Communists as a basis for the unity of all working-class youth fighting for liberty and peace.

"We have not changed our flag, a single organisation of the working-class youth in each country, one united Youth International by the fusion of the Young Communist and Young Socialist Internationals uniting the youth, and opening up new perspectives for victory.

"We are convinced that the Federation of the J.S.U. has a place inside the Young Socialist International to carry on a fight in this direction."

The Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International, after hearing this report, took the following decision unanimously:

"Having heard with the utmost interest the report of Comrade Carrillo on the position of the Unified Youth, we enthusiastically confirm the affiliation of the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain to the Young Socialist International."

Nothing has changed in our organisation since that time. Consequently, there is no reason for the modification of the Amsterdam decision.

It appears that, on arriving in Paris, Comrade Lamoneda has changed his opinion on the necessity of maintaining unity among the youth and has demanded from the leadership of the Young Socialist International that the J.S.U. be excluded. He wants them to recognise not the so-called Committee of National Socialist Youth, but a new Committee created by himself, and of which young Spaniards have not the slightest knowledge.

At a time when we most need help and collaboration in order to carry on the struggle against Franco, the threat of expulsion from the ranks of the Young Socialist International weighs heavily on the heroic Unified Socialist Youth of Spain. But we hope that this threat will not materialise; that young Socialists and young revolutionaries will not permit it and will stand solid with their Spanish brothers.

That is why we feel alarmed when we see how, after the blows aimed at us by fascism which have had considerable repercussions on the man-power of the J.S.U., the situation is being aggravated by bureaucratic action. Such actions, as the exclusion of the British Labour League of Youth, one of the most important organisations of the Young Socialist International, together with the internal difficulties of the Belgian Young Socialist Guard and the expulsion by the national leadership of one of its most important, strong and valuable sections, the Brussels Federation; this will undoubtedly have serious consequences for the strength and unity of the Belgian Young Socialist Guard.

If these examples of the liquidation of a very important part of the forces of the International, already depleted because of the setting up of fascism in other countries, are followed by the expulsion of the Spanish J.S.U. which has 50,000 members in the French refugee camps alone, it will seriously threaten the very existence of the Young Socialist International itself, and may even bring the danger of its disappearance in the future.

This can only help fascism, and we think, quite to the contrary, that the Young Socialist International must be preserved against the manoeuvres of all the splitting elements who are fighting against anti-fascist youth unity, thus betraying the cause of Socialism and peace.

The Spanish people will regain its liberty by helping to consolidate peace and liberty all over the world, by preserving its unity and removing the traitors who wish to break it. In this struggle, the J.S.U. will, as always, take its place in the front line. In these conditions, however, our Federation can only consider its exclusion from the Young Socialist International as a fascist measure. We are sure that the revolutionary and Socialist youth of the world will not tolerate this without replying and protesting most strongly.

Paris, June 8, 1939.

*The National Executive Committee
of the Socialist Youth of Spain.*